

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
F I R S T P L A N T I N G  
O F T H E  
*C H R I S T I A N R E L I G I O N :*

Taken from the  
A C T S of the A P O S T L E S, and their *epistles*.

Together with the  
R E M A R K A B L E F A C T S of the *Jewish* and *Roman history*,  
which affected the *christians*, within this period.

To which is annexed, A  
D I S S E R T A T I O N :

To prove, That  
S t. L U K E wrote the A C T S of the A P O S T L E S: And to show,  
That, if the A C T S contain a *true history*, C H R I S T I A N I T Y  
must be true.

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V O L U M E *the* S E C O N D.

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The S E C O N D E D I T I O N, carefully corrected, and with large  
A D D I T I O N S.

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By G E O R G E B E N S O N, D. D.

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
F I R S T P L A N T I N G  
O F T H E  
C H R I S T I A N R E L I G I O N , & c .

---

B O O K I I I .

*Which containeth an account of the spreading of christi-  
anity among the idolatrous gentiles ; (together with it's  
farther progresse among the jews, and devout gentiles.)  
Acts xiii. to the end of that book ; and from the year  
of OUR LORD 44, to the year 63.*

---

C H A P. I.

BARNABAS *and* SAUL constituted APOSTLES. Acts xii. ult.

S E C T. I.

*They carried the charity from Antioch to Jerusalem. While SAUL  
was praying, in the second court of the temple, he had his trance,  
or extasie : Dureing which, he was taken up, into the third heavens ;  
and made an APOSTLE of the idolatrous gentiles. His thorn in  
the flesh ; and extraordinary gifts.*

**W**E are now proceeding to *the last* ; and to us, of the race  
of the gentiles, the most material ; part of *this history*.  
CHRISTIANITY had been preached, for about eight  
years, among the jews onely : and, for about three years more,  
among

An. Christi

44.

Claud. 4.

Book III.

Ch. I.

Sect. I.

Acts xii.

among ult.



An. Christi among the *jews* and *devout gentiles*. It's last remove was to the  
 44. *idolatrous gentiles*. And the persons, who were first to carry it to  
 Claud. 4. them, were præpared, and commissioned, in the following manner.  
 Book III. When *Agabus* prophesied of an approaching famine, which should af-  
 Ch. I. fect *Jerusalem*, and the whole land of *Judæa*; BARNABAS and  
 Sect. I. SAUL were, both of them, at *Antioch* in *Syria*. And, when the  
 Acts xii. *christians* of that church had made a generous collection, for the use  
 ult, of the *jewish converts* in *Judæa*, they sent it to the *elders* of the  
*christian church*, at *Jerusalem*, by the hands of those two prophets,  
 BARNABAS and SAUL; who had faithfully labored, for a whole year,  
 among them. It seemeth to me highly probable, that, after *Herod*  
 had killed JAMES, the brother of JOHN, with the sword; and PE-  
 TER had escaped with his life, by a miracle; — the other James  
 left *Jerusalem*; — and that that was the occasion of there being no  
 APOSTLE then, in that great city. For the persecution raged so,  
 that, very likely, it was unsafe, for any APOSTLE, to continue there,  
 at that time. But, whatever was the occasion of the absence of all  
 the APOSTLES, the *christian church* at *Antioch* appeareth to have been  
 acquainted with their absence. And, therefore, they sent that cha-  
 ritable contribution, to the *elders*, at *Jerusalem*; that is, (as I appre-  
 hend) unto some of the hundred and twenty, who were of the  
 APOSTLES company, when the *holy spirit* was first poured out: and  
 who were such early converts, as to have seen CHRIST, before his  
 death, as well as after his resurrection.

The wise and great GOD, who had long before designed to call the  
*idolatrous gentiles*, into the *christian church*, did now vouchsafe to con-  
 stitute BARNABAS and SAUL, APOSTLES of the *gentiles*, or *uncir-  
 cumcision*; when no other APOSTLE was at *Jerusalem*, from whom  
 they might be suspected to have received their instructions, or com-  
 mission.<sup>a</sup> They had, both of them, been *superior prophets*, in the  
*christian church*, for some time. And BARNABAS was (I suppose)  
 an *elder* of the first rank; that is, had seen CHRIST in the flesh;  
 had been an eye-witnesse of his being alive again, after his crucifixion;  
 and had received the *holy spirit*, on the day of *pentecost*; as being  
 one of the hundred and twenty. And SAUL had preached, as a *su-  
 perior prophet*, about seven years, to the *jews* onely; and about two  
 years more, to the *jews* and *devout gentiles*. They had, both, been  
 borne

<sup>a</sup> St. PAUL has omitted this journey, from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem*, Gal. i. ii. chap.  
 very probably, for this very reason; namely, because there was no APOSTLE, then,  
 at that city, from whom he could be suspected to have received his knowledge of *chris-  
 tianity*, or his *apostolic commission*.



borne in *gentile* countries. And, therefore, may be supposed to have had more respect and affection for the *gentiles*, than most of the *jews*, who were natives of *Judæa*. SAUL had been converted, and had hitherto preached, chiefly, on *gentile* ground. And he had joined, with BARNABAS, in teaching *devout gentiles*, for a whole year together, at *Antioch* in *Syria*. By all which, they were, in some sort, trained up, for the next step; which was, to go to the *idolatrous gentiles*.

An. Christi  
44.  
Claud. 4.  
Book III.  
Ch. I.  
Sect. I.  
Acts xii.  
ult.

It was necessary, in order to the being an APOSTLE, to have seen OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST alive, after his crucifixion. It is very much to be questioned, whether SAUL saw JESUS his *person*, when he was converted, nigh the city *Damascus*; or any more than a *great light from heaven*, which shone round about him and his companions. For he appears to have been instantly struck blind; as well as to have fallen prostrate on the ground. And, it is remarkable, that St. LUKE never mentioneth his seeing any more than the *light from heaven*; either when he himself telleth the story, or introduceth SAUL as reciting it. The onely objection to this, arises from *Ananias* his words, *Acts* ix. 17. namely, that “*the LORD JESUS had appeared:*” And, ver. 27. that “*SAUL had seen the LORD, in the way*” to *Damascus*. But, possibly, *Ananias* might mean no more than the other accounts of this matter, which are given us, by St. LUKE and St. PAUL. For the nobles of *Israel* are said “to have seen GOD.” [*Exod.* xxiv. 10, 11.] And, in order to deliver the ten commandments, GOD promised, that he would come down, “*in the sight of all the people, upon mount Sinai.*” [*Exod.* xix. 11.] And he is said, [*Deut.* v. 4.] “to have talked, *face to face*, with *Israel*, out of the midst of the fire.” And yet, notwithstanding all these expressions, they saw onely *his glory*. For, [*Deut.* iv. 12.] it is expressly said, “that *they saw no similitude; onely they heard a voice.*” And, [*John* i. 18.] that *no man hath seen GOD, at any time*. So that *Ananias* his words may signifie, that SAUL saw the *glory*; but not the *person*, of CHRIST. And all the relations of that *miraculous* appearance, seem to me to imply no more. However; *Ananias* very plainly informed SAUL, three days after his conversion, [*Acts* xxii. 14.] that “he was still to see JESUS, that righteous person; and to hear his voice, out of his own mouth. And then to be a witnesse, unto all men, [*gentiles, as well as jews,*] of what he had seen and heard.” If SAUL had seen JESUS, upon the road to *Damascus*; it would not follow, that he had then received his *apostolic commission* from him. But, I suppose, he did not then see CHRIST’s *person*. And, consequently, wanted one necessary

ryy



An. Christi  
 44.  
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 ult.

ry qualification, in order to his being an APOSTLE. This, therefore, was, I think, the season, of which he himself speaks, *Acts* xxii. 17, &c. When he returned to *Jerusalem*; [*that is*, the second time after his conversion,<sup>b</sup>] even whilst he was praying in the court of the temple, commonly called *the court of the women*, he was in an extasie, [or *trance*;] dureing which, he saw the LORD JESUS CHRIST, appearing to him, in person; who spoke to him, and commanded him, saying: "Go quickly out of *Jerusalem*. For the *jews* will not regard thy testimony concerning me. And, therefore, I will send thee among the *gentiles*." SAUL was so much leavened with the national præjudices, that he was startled at the thoughts of going to the *idolatrous gentiles*; and began to make an *apology*; and, in effect, petition that he might continue *preaching* to the *jews*. "For, saith he, LORD, they have good reason to think me sincere; and to regard my testimony, rather than another's: seeing they know, very well, how great a *persecutor* of the *christians* I have been. And, therefore, they must needs suppose that I had full evidence and conviction, before I would attempt so great a change." To which the LORD replied: "Thou must depart hence; for I intend to send thee, into remote places, and distant nations, to convert the *idolatrous gentiles*. Thou art, indeed, to go through great trials and calamities. But I will support thee under them; and deliver thee, both from the *jews*, who will often persecute thee; and from the *gentiles*, to whom I am now sending thee; to open their eyes, and to turn them from error and ignorance, to knowlege and holinesse; and from their *idolatry*, to the true GOD, that they may obtain forgiveness of their past sins; a share in the privileges of the *church*, and people of GOD, upon earth; and the happiness, reserved for the virtuous, in the world to come." According to the antient prophecies, "Out of *Sion* the law of the *messiah's* kingdom was to go; and the word of the LORD from *Jerusalem*."<sup>d</sup> And, from St. PAUL's own words, it is plane, he had this remarkable trance, or *extasie*, at *Jerusalem*; whilst he was praying in one of the *courts of the temple*.<sup>e</sup>

That such an extraordinary *trance*, or *vision*, happened to him, at this time, we may gather, from 2 *Cor.* xii. 1, &c. where he is vindi-

<sup>b</sup> He had no occasion, in that speech, to be more particular about the time. And, therefore, he hath not said there, whether it was the first or second time of his returning to *Jerusalem*. But, by the *chronology* of the *new testament*, it plainly appeareth to have been the second time of his coming thither, after his conversion.

<sup>c</sup> *Acts* xxvi. 17, &c. <sup>d</sup> *Psal.* cx. 2. *Isa.* ii. 3. *Micah.* iv. 2. <sup>e</sup> *Acts* xxii. 17.



## SAUL'S rapture into heaven.

7

vindicating himself, from the aspersions, thrown upon him, by the *false apostle at Corinth*; who called in question the truth of *his doctrine*, and represented him as one that deserved no regard; *because his bodily presence was mean, and his speech contemptible*. "Though it would not be, otherwise, expedient (saith he) for me to glory; yet, as you, by the aspersions, which you have cast upon me, compel me to it; I will procede to give some account of the extraordinary *visions* and *revelations*, which I have been favored with, from the LORD. I knew a *christian*, above fourteen years ago; [by which he meant himself; though he modestly speaks of it, in the third person;] whether it happened in a *vision*, presented to his *spirit*; or he was really carried, soul and body, into heaven; I cannot tell; GOD himself knoweth. But this I know, that (one way, or the other) he was taken up into *paradise*, (as well as into the *third heavens*,) the habitations of the blessed; where he saw and heard things, which it is impossible for mortal man to utter." SAUL was favored with this bright discovery of the *paradisaical* and *heavenly glory*, and with hearing such exquisite and unutterable things; to incourage him, against all the difficulties, which he was to meet with; and the persecutions, that he was to undergo; in preaching the gospel, unto the world; and, particularly, to the *idolatrous gentiles*.

That *second epistle* to the *Corinthians* was written in the year of OUR LORD 58. And, as his *rapture*, or *extasie*, was a little more than fourteen years before that, it fixeth it to this very time; that is, to the beginning of the year 44. Some, indeed, have supposed that he had his *rapture*, or *extasie*, at *Damascus*; immediately after his conversion; when he lay there, three days, blind and fasting. Others have fixed it at *Lystra*; when his enemies had stoned him, 'till they thought he was dead. And others again, at *Antioch* in *Syria*; about the time that the *prophets* separated him and *Barnabas*, for the work, unto which the *holy spirit* had called them. But I would place it at *Jerusalem*, and at this time of his being there; because I think it the onely way of accounting for all the hints and expressions, concerning

<sup>f</sup> The first sense, which arises in one's mind, upon reading these words, [*whether in the body I cannot tell, or whether out of the body I cannot tell*,] is, "I cannot tell, whether my soul was separated from my body; or I was taken up, soul and body together." But if St. PAUL's soul had really been separated from his body, and reunited to it again, that would have been his *death* and *resurrection*. I am, therefore, inclined to the sense now given; as satisfied that St. PAUL did not suppose that, in his *rapture*, he dyed, and afterwards rose again; though he might doubt, whether it was a *mere vision*, or he was really taken up into the *coelestial regions*.

An. Christi

44.  
Claus. 4.

Book III.

Ch. I.

Sect. I.

Acts xii.

ult.



An. Christi cerning it, that are dispersed in the *Acts of the APOSTLES*, and St.  
 44. PAUL's *epistles*. Though he could not tell, whether it was by *vision*,  
 Claud. 4. or by his soul and body's being actually carried up into *paradise*, and  
 Book III. into *heaven*; yet this he was sure of, that he saw the LORD JESUS,  
 Ch. I. alive again, after his crucifixion; and in a state of transcendent glory  
 Sect. I. and exaltation. And, from his mouth, he received the *revelation* of  
 Acts xii. that *gospel*, which he was to preach to the *idolatrous gentiles*; and a  
 ult. full commission, as APOSTLE of the *uncircumcision*. Hence it was,  
 that he could justly say, "I have received of the LORD, [JESUS,]  
 "that, which I also delivered unto you;" — and call himself "An  
 "APOSTLE, not of men, neither by man; but by JESUS CHRIST,  
 "and GOD the father, who raised him from the dead." And could  
 certify the *christians*, to whom he wrote, "That the *gospel*, which  
 "was preached by him, was not according to any mere human instruc-  
 "tions. For he received not his *knowledge*, from any man; neither  
 "was he taught it, but by the *revelation* of JESUS CHRIST." Nay;  
 even what he preached to the *jews*, before he was an APOSTLE, was  
 onely what he received, by *immediate revelation*. And so also was,  
 most evidently, what he afterwards preached to the *idolatrous*  
*gentiles*.

I have intimated above, that SAUL appeareth to me to have been  
 very young, at his conversion; and not fit to have been made an  
 APOSTLE, immediately; either upon the account of his age, or of  
 his standing in the *christian church*. But, by preaching about seven  
 years among the *jews*, and about two years more, to them and to the  
*devout gentiles*, he had given sufficient proofs of his sincerity, and un-  
 feigned zeale for the *gospel*; and convinced the *jewish converts*, that he  
 acted with the greatest integrity, in professing the *christian religion*.  
 Had he, immediately upon his conversion, gone and preached to the  
*idolatrous gentiles*; it would have been one of the hardest tasks in  
 the world, to have convinced the *jewish christians*, that he was not  
 still an enemy, in his heart, to *christianity* itself. Nay; the *jews*,  
 even to this day, blame him for preaching to the *gentiles*, without re-  
 quireing them first to become *profelytes of righteousness* to the *jewish*  
*religion*.

As St. PETER had his *trance*, and the *revelation* of the *gospel*,  
 which was to be preached to the *devout gentiles*, whilest he was pray-  
 ing, on the house-top, and (most probably) with his face turned to-  
 wards the *temple*, at *Jerusalem*; so SAUL had his *trance*, and the re-  
*velation* of the *gospel*, which he was to preach to the *idolatrous gen-*  
*tiles*, whilest he was praying, in the very court of the *temple* itself.  
 This



## His thorn in the flesh.

9

This *revelation* is what he glories in; and calls *his gospel*, by way of peculiar eminence and distinction. For, not unto any of the APOSTLES <sup>43.</sup> *of the circumcision*; but “unto him, was this *mystery* first *reveled*:”  
 “even unto him, I say, who (by reason of his haveing once *persecuted* the *christians*) accounted himself lesse than the least of all  
 “*saints*, was this unspeakable favor shown; that he should be first  
 “acquainted with what had been hid from all former ages and per-  
 “sons; *namely*, that the *idolatrous gentiles*, without *circumcision*, or  
 “any submission to the *law of Moses*, should become fellow-heirs with  
 “the *jewish converts*; and partakers of the promises and privileges of  
 “the *gospel*: and that he should be sent, among the *gentiles*, to preach  
 “those unsearchable riches of CHRIST; and to make all the world see  
 “and adore that amazeing wisdom and goodnesse, which shone so  
 “brightly in the *christian dispensation*. This was enough to elate any  
 “mere man. Lest, therefore, he should be exalted above measure,  
 “through the greatnesse, and excedeing abundance, of the *revelations*,  
 “then discovered to him, there was given him *a thorn in the flesh*;  
 “that the emissary, or messenger, of *satan*, might have something,  
 “wherewith to buffet and insult him.”<sup>s</sup> For it is ingeniously con-  
 jectured, that the *heavenly glory* made a stronger impressiion upon his  
 nerves, than human nature, or (at least) his constitution, could bear.  
 It is elsewhere represented as *light inaccessible* to mortal men; and *too*  
*full of glory for us to behold and live*. And we read of some of the

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antient

<sup>s</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 7. Ἀγγελὸς Σατᾶν ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ. “That the messenger of Satan might buffet me.” So I would translate the words. [See Dr. Whitby on that text.] This translation has seemed harsh to some. And yet I cannot approve of our common *english* translation. Suppose, therefore, the words were rendered thus, “There was given me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan, that he might buffet me.” Which will bring it to much the same sense with the former. For, in scripture-language, Satan is often represented as doing what wicked men, who are his tools and servants, actually performed. [See on 1 Thess. ii. 18.] However; as the interpreting ἀγγελὸς, a messenger, of any bodily disorder, seems more harsh, I still prefer the former translation.

The *hebrew* particle *vau*, is, in “scripture, sometimes, found præfixed to one word in a sentence, when it must necessarily be transposed in the translation; and be given, in the sense, before two or more words, which immediately præcede it. And, if so, the same liberty of language may be allowed, Gen. ii. 9. of which, there is a necessity in other places. [See the heb. Gen. xxii. 4.] And, on the third day, Abraham lifted up his eyes. [Gen. xxviii. 6. in the heb.] And that, as he blessed him, &c. 2 Cor. xii. 7. requires the same transposition. — The transposition of the particle, ἵνα, is very remarkably justified, by a necessity of transposing the same particle, in the begining of the very same verse. Καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι. — See Rom. xi. 31. 1 Cor. ix. 15. 2 Cor. ii. 4. Gal. ii. 10.” [Mr. Kennicot’s dissertation, 2d edition.]



An. Christi  
 43.  
 Claud. 3.  
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 Acts xii.  
 ult.

*antient prophets*, who were sick and faint, several days; after *visions* which were much inferior to this of SAUL.<sup>h</sup> Very probably, therefore, he was struck with a *shakeing palsy*, or some other great bodily disorder; which made his speech difficult and stammering, caused convulsive and distorted motions in the muscles of his face; and so rendered "his bodily presence mean, and his speech contemptible."<sup>i</sup> This (to say the least) is much more likely to have been his *thorn in the flesh*, than any of the other things, which have been conjectured; and deserveth great regard, as it so well agreeth with all the particulars, recorded by St. PAUL himself. God had chosen the rest of the APOSTLES, from among unlearned fishermen, and publicanes, and the like; that it might appear that it was not owing to their own learning and eloquence, that they had so great successe. And, though SAUL had learning and eloquence; yet the force of his eloquence must have been much impaired, by such a disorder. Now, being to go among the *beathens*, and to such polite places, as *Greece* and *Rome*, where eloquence, and a graceful appearance, were in high esteem; — he thought this would prove a great obstruction, and was thereby much discouraged. So that he besought the LORD JESUS, three times, with great importunity, that it might be removed from him. To which the LORD answered: "My favor, and extraordinary assistance, will be sufficient for thee; and my strength will be perfected in thy weaknesse." Upon which, SAUL gloried in his bodily infirmities; in as much as the lesse likely he appeared to succede, in such a great work, the more evident was it that a *divine power* rested upon him. For this reason, he took pleasure in those bodily infirmities; and in the reproaches cast upon him, because of them. For, though he was weak in himself; yet he was strong in CHRIST, and in the power of his might. And it was manifest, that the excellence of the power was of GOD, and not of him; and that his successe did not arise from the inticeing words of human wisdom, but from the demonstration of the *spirit*, and of *power*. And, that the weapons of his warfare were not carnal, but mighty, through GOD; pulling down imaginations, and every high thing that exalted itself against the *gospel*; and bringing into captivity every thought, to the obedience of CHRIST.

<sup>h</sup> See Dan. viii. 27.<sup>i</sup> 2 Cor. x. 1; 10. Gal. iv. 13, 14.



CHAP. I. SECT. II.

*A more particular account of the spiritual gifts, which SAUL received, when he was constituted APOSTLE of the gentiles.*

WE have already given an account of what *spiritual gifts* and *miraculous powers* SAUL received, at his conversion; in order to qualify him to be a *superior prophet*, or *evangelist*, unto the *jews*. We are now to inquire into the *gifts* and *powers*, which he received, when he was made APOSTLE of the *gentiles*. 1. By the *fight*, which he had, of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, he was enabled to *testifie* several things; and, particularly, that CHRIST was alive again, after his crucifixion. This he is never said to have done before. But, after this, he is frequently said to have borne his testimony. He had preached CHRIST, [or the gospel doctrine] in the synagogue; and proved JESUS of Nazareth to be the messiah.<sup>a</sup> He had spoken boldly, in the name of the LORD JESUS; and taught the people at Antioch.<sup>b</sup> But, now he was to be made an APOSTLE, he was to bear a testimony, which the *jews* at Jerusalem would not receive. He was, therefore, to carry it to the *gentiles*, to whom the LORD JESUS was now going to send him.<sup>c</sup> Or (as it is elsewhere expressed) to be a *witnesse of the things, which he had seen; as well as of those, in which CHRIST would farther appear unto him.*<sup>d</sup> After this, he bore witness that GOD had raised JESUS from the dead; as well as intimated that the other APOSTLES were his witnesses; and testified, both to *jews* and *gentiles*. Upon which testimony, he grounded his exhortation, of repentance towards GOD, and faith towards OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.<sup>e</sup> And, upon CHRIST's appearing to him, when he was confined, in the tower of Antonia, he said: "Be of good cheer, PAUL. For, as thou hast testified of me, at Jerusalem, so thou must also bear witness of me, at Rome."<sup>f</sup> Thus he continued witnessing, both to small and great; and testifying the kingdom of GOD.<sup>g</sup> And, it is remarkable, that bearing witness, or testifying, is a phrase, which is very rarely used, after CHRIST's ascension, of any, but APOSTLES.

B 2

For,

<sup>a</sup> Acts ix. 20; 22; 29. <sup>b</sup> Acts xi. 26. <sup>c</sup> Acts xxii. 18; 21.  
<sup>d</sup> Acts xxvi. 16. <sup>e</sup> Acts xiii. 30, 31. and xvii. 30, 31. & xx. 21. <sup>f</sup> Acts xxiii. 11.  
<sup>g</sup> Acts xxvi. 22. and xxviii. 23.

An. Christi  
 43.  
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 Acts xii.  
 ult.



An. Christi For they were *witnesses, chosen of GOD*, to bear their *testimony* to the  
 Claud. 43. 3. *facts*, upon which *christianity* was founded.

Book III. 2. SAUL must now have received "that branch of the *word of*  
 Ch. I. *wisdom*, which related to the *idolatrous gentiles*." He had, upon his  
 Sect. II. conversion, received the *scheme of the christian doctrine*, as far as it  
 Acts xii. was common to all mankind; and, as it particularly concerned the  
 ult. *jewish converts*, at that time. But there is no reason to think, that  
 he then had any notion of *preaching* to the *idolatrous gentiles*; when  
 St. PETER had not, at that time, so much as *opened the door of faith*  
 to the *devout gentiles*. But now, as one branch of this *word of wis-*  
*dom*, he was acquainted with the *grand mystery*, of his immediately  
 calling in the *idolatrous gentiles*. And another branch of it, was,  
 the terms, on which they were to be accepted; *namely*, upon their  
 renouncing *idolatry*, and submitting to the *christian institution*, with-  
 out any subjection to the *law of Moses*. Accordingly; from this time,  
 he addressed himself to *them*, and received *them* into the *christian*  
*church*, upon these terms. And he had great success, and brought  
 over multitudes. Nay, farther; unto PAUL, the APOSTLE, other  
*mysteries* were revealed: such as GOD's casting off the body of the  
*jewish nation*, because of their unbelief and disobedience; the *myste-*  
*ry of iniquity*; and concerning *the man of sin, and son of perdition*,  
 whereby great corruptions would be introduced into the *christian*  
*church*; the *mystery* of recalling the *jews*, into the *church of GOD*,  
 and adding unto them the fulness of the *gentiles*; and the *myste-*  
*ry*, that the last generation should not die at all, but be trans-  
 formed.

3. SAUL did now receive *the word of knowledge*; as far as it relat-  
 ed to the *gospel*, which he was to preach to the *idolatrous gentiles*: that  
 is, "A clear view of those *prophecies*, which related to the calling in  
 "of the *gentiles*; and a full understanding of the confirmation,  
 "which the old testament gave, to this remarkable branch of the  
 "*christian revelation*." He had, upon his conversion, received so  
 much of *the word of knowledge*, as enabled him to show, how the old  
 testament made way for the *gospel*, which was then preached unto the  
*jews*. And, therefore, he could not only argue from the *prophecies*,  
 to convert the *jews*. But, when he had taught them the *christian*  
*doctrine*, which was founded upon *facts*, he could build them up, in  
 their most holy faith; by taking off their false glosses and interpreta-  
 tions, and pointing out to them the true sense of the *law* and the *pro-*  
*phets*. Both his *reason* and *extraordinary illumination* taught him, not  
 to appeal to the *prophecies* of the old testament, in converting *idola-*  
*trous*



*trous gentiles*; who neither acknowledged the authority of the *jewish canon*, nor were they so much as acquainted with what it contained. But, when those *idolators* had imbraced *christianity*; and were told, that many of the things had been prædicted, long before-hand, which were now come to passe; it was a circumstantial and confirming evidence, to show them such *prophecies*, and compare them with the accomplishment; and to point out, to them, the connection between *christianity* and former *divine revelations*. The word of knowledge enabled SAUL to do this. And he did not fail to make use of it; and that with great justnesse and propriety.

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43.  
Claud. 3.  
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Aets xii.  
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4. SAUL now received the gift of *discerning spirits*. It is dubious whether he received it, in any considerable degree, upon his *conversion*. But that he now received it, in an high degree, appeareth very evidently. For, soon after this, he detected the secret malice and wickednesse of *Bar-Jesus*, who slyly indeavored to turn away *Sergius Paulus* from imbraceing the *christian faith*; and perceived, that the lame man at *Lystra* had faith to be healed. By this gift, he could try the *spirits*, and detect the wickednesse of the *false apostles*; as knowing who preached CHRIST, out of a good design; and who, out of contention, and a spirit of opposition. And, by this gift, he could "appoint some of the *first-fruits* of his conversions to be *bishops*" and *deacons*, in particular *churches*; having first proved, or tried "them, by the *spirit*."

5. SAUL did now receive the power of binding and looseing, remitting and retaining the sins of men. He could, upon his conversion, point out to the *jews* their duty; and loose them from, or bind them over to, future punishments; as they complied, or neglected to comply. But, he never understood their being freed from their former obligation to the *ceremonial law*, 'till now, that he was made an APOSTLE. Nor did he, before this, understand what laws would be obligatory upon the *christians*, who should be converted from among the *idolatrous gentiles*. But, from this time, he could declare, with certainty, that they were bound to forsake their *idolatry*; to believe in the one true GOD, and in his son, JESUS CHRIST, OUR LORD: and that (though the *jews* would be zealous to bring them into subjection; yet) they were free from all obligations to the *law of Moses*; the *gospel* being to them, upon that very account, the perfect law of liberty. He could, after this, with certainty, declare to the *gentile converts* the consequence of their behavior; namely, that such as lived according to what the *christian rule* required of them, should be freed from future punishments; but that such as neglected, or lived in contradiction to what



An. Christi what was their plane duty, were bound over to suffer the righteous judgments of GOD.

<sup>43.</sup>  
Claud. 3. But, besides the general power, of *remitting* or *retaining the sins of*  
Book III. *men*, he could, in some cases, apply this to particular persons. For,  
Ch. I. as he thoroughly understood *the gospel-terms of acceptance*, and had the  
Sect. II. *gift of discerning spirits*; he could infallibly declare unto such,  
Acts xii. whose secret thoughts he knew, whether their sins would be remit-  
ult. ted, or retained; if they persisted in the same temper of mind, and  
course of life.

Again: SAUL now received, what I take to be principally meant, by the phrase, of *remitting*, or *retaining, the sins of men*, namely, "a power of striking bold, daring, and incorrigible offenders, "with some bodily diseases; and (if occasion required) with death "itself." This was *retaining their sins*, or denouncing divine judgments; which were immediately [*bound*, or] inflicted upon them. But, when the persons, so chastised, became penitent, he could *miraculously* cure them; as he could likewise *miraculously* cure the diseases of some other persons; and so *remit their sins*, or cancel their obligations to farther punishments. *This power*, as it concerned the *retaining of the sins of men*, may be called, *the having the apostolic rod*. For, of *this power*, I apprehend St. PAUL was speaking, [1 Cor. iv. 21.] when he saith, "Which do you (disorderly *Corinthians*) desire? Shall I come to you with a *rod*; or in love, and in the spirit "of meekness?" And, [2 Cor. x. 6.] where he declareth, "that "he was fully able to revenge all disobedience; after as many of "them, as would take the warning, were reduced to obedience." And again, [2 Cor. xiii. 2, &c.] where he assureth them, "that, if he came "again, and found any of them intractable, he would not spare "them; but would give them such a proof, as they would repent, "who had so long questioned his having *such a power*; and persisted "audacious and incorrigible." By *this power*, *Elymas*, the sorcerer, was struck blind; for endeavoring, wickedly and insidiously, to turn away *Sergius Paulus* from embracing the *gospel*. And the APOSTLE threatened to deliver the incestuous *Corinthian*, and did actually deliver *Alexander* and *Hymeneus*, "over to *satan*, to be tormented in "their flesh; that the spirit might be saved, in the day of the LORD." — The *gospel* is a mild dispensation. And *this power* was committed to the APOSTLES, agreeably to the nature of the *gospel*; that is, for edification, and not for destruction. And, therefore, it was used very seldom, and sparingly.



6. SAUL now received the gift of *propheſying*; not onely as it ſignifieth the *prædiction of leſſer events*: [for the *prædiction of greater events* belonged to the word of *wiſdom*:] but alſo, as it inabled him, by *inſpiration*, to carry on the ſeveral parts of *chriſtian worſhip*: ſuch as “makeing diſcourſes, ſuted to particular occaſions; ſing- ing psalms, hymns, or ſpiritual ſongs; praying to, or praiſeing, “GOD.”

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Claud. 3.  
Book III.  
Ch. I.  
Sect. II.  
Acts xii.  
ult.

7. SAUL now received the *gift of tongues*. How ſmall a degree ſoever of this *gift* he received, upon his conversion; he appeareth, from this time, to have had it, in a very high degree. For he ſaith, [1 Cor. xiv. 18.] “he could ſpeak with tongues, more than the whole church at Corinth:” though they ſeem to have abounded with this *gift*. The *gift of tongues* was now beſtowed on SAUL, that he might preach the *gospel* to men of any nation, without an *interpreter*. And he had great occaſion for it; when he was ſetting out, to go among the *idolatrous gentiles*, in diſtant countries.

8. SAUL did, now, receive the *gift of the interpretation of tongues*. Poſſibly, he might receive it, in ſome degree, when he was converted. But, now he was to be an APOSTLE, it is likely he received it, in the hiheſt degree. For the *inferior prophets* had it. And much more he, who has not a whit behind the chief of the APOSTLES. Hereby he could interpret the old teſtament, from the *original language*; or turn, into the *vulgar* (or any other) tongue, what had been ſpoken, in a language, which ſome of the audience did not underſtand.

9. Some have ſuppoſed that SAUL had alſo one *gift* peculiar to himſelf; or, at leaſt, there is no intimation that any other of the APOSTLES had it: *namely*, “A power of ſeeing what was done at a diſtance; or of knowing, in ſome caſes, what paſſed in his abſence, as clearly and exactly as if he had been preſent.” The texts, from which it is collected, that he had ſuch a *gift*, are, 1 Cor. v. 3, 4. and Col. ii. 5. In the firſt of which, he ſpeaks “of being *abſent* from the church, *in body*; but *preſent in ſpirit*; and thereby fitting as judge, in the firſt inſtance, and condemning the inceſtuous perſon:” And, in the laſt, as “beholding the order, regularity, and ſtedfaſtneſſe, which were among the *Coloſſians*; and rejoicing greatly at the proſpect.” Some few, both of the *antients* and *moderns*, have ſo underſtood theſe texts. And, therefore, I mention this interpretation. But I do it with diffidence; becauſe the generality are not of this opinion. However; it ought to be obſerved, that there is a very plain intimation of *Eliſha* the prophet’s having ſuch



An. Christi such a gift. For the heart of *Elisba* is said to have gone along with  
 43. *Gebazi*, when *Naaman*, the *Syrian*, turned back to meet him, and  
 Claud. 3. made him a present. [2 Kings v. 25, 26.] And it will be hard to  
 Book III. assign a reason, why an APOSTLE might not, in some cases, have  
 Ch. I. this gift, as well as an *old testament prophet*: especially, if we confi-  
 Sect. II. der the vast extent of the province of the great APOSTLE of the gen-  
 Acts xii. tiles; the great number of churches, which he had under his care; and  
 ult. the continual anxiety he had for their welfare: under which, this ex-  
 traordinary gift might, in some cases, relieve him; as well as greatly  
 redound to their advantage.

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## C H A P. I. S E C T. III.

*The miraculous powers conferred on SAUL, when he was  
 made APOSTLE of the gentiles.*

BESIDES the *spiritual gifts*, which SAUL had, when he was made an APOSTLE, he received several *miraculous powers*. For instance, (1.) He had a greater degree of *fortitude*, than he had, upon *his conversion*. Though he seemeth, then, to have received *superior courage*, to what he had, naturally, and before he imbraced *christianity*. Hereby, he had a *door of utterance*; or a proper firmness, and resolution of mind, to speak freely, and to deliver even harsh and ungrateful truths, before the greatest personages, the most august assemblies, or the greatest and most implacable enemies. He did, indeed, upon *his conversion*, go and preach CHRIST publicly, in the synagogues, at *Damascus*; and confounded the *jews*, who disputed with, and opposed him.<sup>a</sup> And, soon after, his [*παρρησία*] *fortitude* appeared, in preaching, at *Jerusalem*, in the name of the LORD JESUS.<sup>b</sup> But, notwithstanding that, when he was in danger of suffering, he with great caution avoided it, before he was made an APOSTLE; being let down by the wall of the city of *Damascus*, and fleeing to *Jerusalem*, to avoid the malice of the *jews*; who had the gates of the city watched, day and night, that they might apprehend him.<sup>c</sup> And, again, when the *hellenistic jews*, at *Jerusalem*, sought to

<sup>a</sup> Acts ix. 20, 21, 22.  
 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33.

<sup>b</sup> Acts ix. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Acts ix. 23, 24, 25.



to take away his life; he was conveyed, from thence, first to *Cæsarea*, and afterwards to *Tarsus*. But, now he is made an APOSTLE, it is observed that *he* and *Barnabas* waxed bold, when they first began to preach to a number of *idolatrous gentiles*.<sup>d</sup> He endured stoning, at *Lystra*, 'till his enemies left him for dead.<sup>e</sup> And, at *Philippi*, he not onely suffered his cloathes to be rent off, and endured a severe scourging; and, after that, imprisonment; but, when the doors of the prison were opened, by an earthquake, he would not go out, 'till the magistrates came, and besought him to depart.<sup>f</sup> He went up to *Jerusalem*, bound in the spirit; [or foreseeing, by the spirit of prophecy, that he should be bound there;] and not knowing what other afflictions might befall him, in that city; any farther, than that the spirit had assured him, in general, that bonds and afflictions every where awaited him.<sup>g</sup> Nay; when the prophets at *Tyre* would have dissuaded him, from going up to *Jerusalem*;<sup>h</sup> and *Agabus*, at *Cæsarea*, prophesied, that, if he went up thither, at that time, the jews would bind him, and deliver him into the hands of the romans; and the christians thereupon begged of him, with tears, not to venture himself among his enemies: yet none of these things moved him to desist from his purpose and resolution.<sup>i</sup> Notwithstanding the tumult at *Ephesus*, he would have ventured into the theatre, in the midst of his enemies; if some of the masters of the theatre, who were his friends, had not sent privately to him, and desired him not to go.<sup>k</sup> Though he was confined, for two years, at *Rome*; yet he went thither a second time; even after the christians had undergone a violent persecution, in that imperial city. And there, at last, he bravely laid down his life, as a martyr for the gospel; which he had, so long, and so faithfully, preached. "What courage was required in him, who was to undergo stripes above measure, frequent imprisonments, indefatigable labors, and repeated dangers of death? Who was to be scourged, and stoned; to suffer shipwreck; and go through long, tedious, journeys? In perils from waters; in perils from robbers; in perils from his own countrymen, the jews; and from strangers of the gentiles? Not onely in cities, but also in the wilderness; by sea, and by land; from treacherous friends, as well as open and professed enemies? Whose lot it was, to have many sleepless nights, and fatiguing

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Sect. III.

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<sup>d</sup> Acts xiii. 46.  
<sup>e</sup> Acts xx. 22, 23.  
<sup>k</sup> Acts xix. 30, 31.

<sup>e</sup> Acts xiv. 19.  
<sup>h</sup> Acts xxi. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Acts xvi. 22, — 40.  
<sup>i</sup> Acts xxi. 10, 11, 12, 13.



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“ tigueing days ; to go through hunger and thirst, and frequent fast-  
 “ ings ; through cold and nakedness, as well as scorching heat ?  
 “ And who, besides these troubles, had, upon his mind, a continual  
 “ care and anxiety for all the churches ? To be brought before *sanhe-*  
 “ *drims*, kings, and governors ; and make an apology for a *doctrine*,  
 “ which was contrary to all men ? A *doctrine*, that was not onely ri-  
 “ diculed, by the *gentiles* ; but exasperated his kindred, the *jews* ;  
 “ nay, and offended even many of the *christians* ! To oppose the  
 “ insincere, and daring gainfayers ; and patiently to bear with the  
 “ weak and scrupulous ! To go, from a place, where he had been  
 “ used with severity, and the greatest indignity ; and yet to begin  
 “ preaching, in the next city, that he came to, with as much cheer-  
 “ fulness and resolution, as if he had every where met with the  
 “ greatest encouragement, and the kindest treatment imaginable ! Not  
 “ to count life itself dear, so that he might finish his *apostolical office*  
 “ with fidelity ; and to stand up for *christianity*, when all his friends  
 “ forsook him, and fled ! What a degree of *courage* was requisite in  
 “ such a man, and in such a station ? ”

2. Though it is highly probable, that he received a *power* of work-  
 ing some *miracles*, upon *his conversion* ; yet “ the *power* of working  
 “ greater *miracles* ; or of doing common miracles, in some superior  
 “ manner ; was, very likely, conferred upon him, when he was  
 “ made APOSTLE of the *gentiles*.” Accordingly ; [ *Acts* xiv. 8, 9, 10. ]  
 we find him, not long after this, healing a man who had been lame  
 from his birth ; and who could never walk, ’till he commanded him  
 to stand upon his feet. And then, immediately, he both leaped and  
 walked. After that, he raised *Eutychus* from the dead.<sup>1</sup> These were  
 great and *extraordinary miracles* ; such as were worked, by few, or  
 none, but APOSTLES. And, as to his doing common miracles in a  
 superior manner, we have a noted instance, *Acts* xix. 11, 12. For  
 “ handkerchiefs and aprons, which had touched his body, were carried  
 “ to sick persons, at a distance. And they were immediately healed  
 “ of their diseases.”

3. From this time we find him possessed of “ the power of confer-  
 “ ing *spiritual gifts*, or *miraculous powers*, upon others, by the laying  
 “ on of his hands.” It is altogether unlikely that he should have  
 this power, upon his conversion ; because it was peculiar to APOSTLES,  
 and he was not then constituted an APOSTLE. But, after this, he  
 communicated the *holy spirit* to *Timothy*,<sup>m</sup> to the *Galatians*,<sup>n</sup> to the  
 Thes-

<sup>1</sup> Acts xx. 9, — 12.<sup>m</sup> 2 Tim. i. 6.<sup>n</sup> Gal. iii. 2, 3 ; 5.



*Thessalonians*,<sup>o</sup> to the *Corinthians*;<sup>p</sup> and to twelve disciples of *John* An. Christi  
*the baptist*, at *Ephesus*.<sup>q</sup> He longed, also, to go to *Rome*, that he 44. Claud. 4.  
might impart unto the *christians*, there, some *spiritual gifts*; to Book III. Ch. I.  
the end they might be confirmed in their *christianity*.<sup>r</sup> Nay; Sect. III.  
he seems, from many hints in the *Acts*, and in his *epistles*, to Acts xii.  
have imparted the *holy spirit*, by the laying on of his hands, to ult.  
all the adult *christians*, where-ever he came: unless they had re-  
ceived it before.

Thus was SAUL qualified, for going out, as one of CHRIST'S  
APOSTLES, to the idolatrous gentiles.

## CHAP. I. SECT. IV.

BARNABAS constituted APOSTLE of the gentiles, at the  
same time with SAUL. What gifts and powers were  
bestowed upon him.

THOUGH SAUL was thus qualified, and put in commis-  
sion, as APOSTLE of the *gentile world*; yet we have not so  
clear and full an account, when and where BARNABAS received his  
qualifications, and commission. I have already intimated, that I  
take him to have been a distinct person from *Joseph*, surnamed *Bar-  
sabas*; who was set up, along with *Matthias*, as candidate for the  
apostleship, from which *Judas Iscariot* fell.<sup>a</sup>

This *Joses* was a *levite*, borne in the *island Cyprus*; whom the  
APOSTLES surnamed *Barnabas*; that is, *the son of consolation*; when  
he contributed so plenteously to the charitable fund.<sup>b</sup> I think it not  
improbable, but that he might have seen OUR LORD, before his as-  
cension. For the *fathers* say, that he was one of the seventy disciples,  
whom OUR LORD sent out, during his own personal ministry up-  
on earth.<sup>c</sup> And he is said to have been full of the *holy spirit*.<sup>d</sup> A  
phrase, which seemeth commonly to denote, that the *spirit* was

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poured

<sup>o</sup> 1 Thess. i. 5. and v. 19, 20.  
xii. 12.

<sup>q</sup> Acts xix. 1, — 7.

<sup>p</sup> 1 Cor. i. 4, — 7. 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. and  
Rom. i. 11.

<sup>a</sup> See the note on Acts i. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Acts iv. 36, 37.

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Alex.

Strom. edit. Potter. p. 489. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 12. & l. 2. c. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Acts xi. 24.



An. Christi 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. IV. Acts xii. ult. poured down, immediately, from heaven; and not communicated, by the laying on of the hands of the APOSTLES. From whence, it is likely that he was one of the hundred and twenty, upon whom the *holy spirit* was poured down, at the begining. But, whether he had seen OUR LORD, before his ascension; or was converted afterwards; it is evident, that he was a *superior prophet*, and *full of the holy spirit*. And, as such, he had preached among *jews* and *devout gentiles*. But now, he became an APOSTLE, and went among the *idolatrous gentiles*. For he had been called, by the *spirit*, unto the same work with SAUL; and was set apart, in the same solemn manner, by the *prophets*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*.<sup>e</sup> The LORD had commanded him, as well as SAUL, to go and preach unto the *gentiles*.<sup>f</sup> He is expressly called an APOSTLE.<sup>g</sup> And went, along with SAUL, to the same work, of converting *idolatrous gentiles*. When SAUL and he separated, he took a *minister* along with him, like an APOSTLE.<sup>h</sup> He is often called AN APOSTLE, by the *fathers*.<sup>i</sup> And, what is more, SAUL, his *fellow-apostle* to the *gentile* world, asserteth that *Barnabas* had as good a clame as himself, to the *apostolic* authority and privileges. [1 Cor. ix. 4, — 7.] And the three of chief repute among the

<sup>e</sup> Acts xiii. 2, 3.<sup>f</sup> Acts xiii. 46, 47.<sup>g</sup> Acts xiv. 14.<sup>h</sup> Acts xv. 39.

<sup>i</sup> It must be owned the *fathers* used the word [APOSTLE] in a lax sense; extending it, sometimes, to such, as, properly speaking, were not APOSTLES. And though, in some places, they call *Barnabas* an APOSTLE; yet, in other places, they term him *apostolical* onely; and say, that he was *one of the seventy, and fellow-laborer of Paul*. But, I think, we ought to regard the *scriptural* representation, more than that of the *fathers*. And the *scriptures* seem, to me, to represent him as an APOSTLE.

It may be objected, (1.) That *Barnabas* was not esteemed an apostle, properly speaking, by many of the antients. (2.) There is no account, in the new testament, of his being advanced to the number of the apostles. (3.) *Gal. ii. 9.* St. Paul saith, “when they perceived the grace given unto me;” [which seems to be his apostleship.] And, if *Barnabas* had been an apostle, *Paul* could not have avoided saying, — “The grace, that was given unto us.”

To the first objection I would answer, that the fathers were not the most critical and exact interpreters of scripture. And that no sect, nor party, of *christians* will, now, be determined by their interpretations. To the second, I would say, that the scriptures have represented *Barnabas* as an apostle, and even expressly called him so, though they have not mentioned the exact time and place, when he was constituted an apostle. To the third, I would answer, that *Barnabas* had the right-hand of fellowship, given him, by *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, equally with St. Paul. And the reason, why there is nothing said about their perceiving the grace given unto *Barnabas*, might be, that there was then no opposition made to him, in the churches of *Galatia*, as there was most evidently to St. Paul. It is there plainly supposed, that like grace was given unto *Barnabas*; though it is not expressly said so.



the APOSTLES *of the circumcision*; namely, JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, acknowledged him for a *brother* APOSTLE; giving unto him, and PAUL, the right-hand of fellowship, that they should go among the *beathens*, as the other APOSTLES went among the *jews*. [Gal. ii. 9.] As BARNABAS, therefore, was an APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. And after this, (but never before,) went and preached unto the *idolatrous gentiles*. As he is intimated to have been called, by the *spirit*, unto the *same work*, and at the same time, with SAUL. And they were set apart together, *by fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands*. And went out; and, both jointly, and separately, labored in converting *idolatrous gentiles*. — Considering these things, I say, it seems highly probable, that he received his commission and qualifications, at *Jerusalem*, from OUR LORD, about the same time that SAUL received his. It was not sufficient (I think) that SAUL should, in his *vision*, be ordered to take BARNABAS along with him. For, though he had seen CHRIST in the flesh, and could (possibly) *bear witness* of his being raised again; yet that was not all, which was required to constitute him APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. He must have had *proper revelations*, as well as a *commission*. And it was not agreeable to OUR LORD's usual method, to give such a *commission*; much less such *extraordinary revelations*; mediately, and by a third person. I, therefore, suppose that BARNABAS did now receive *proper revelations*, as well as a full *commission*, to constitute him an APOSTLE *of the gentile world*: perhaps, by a fresh effusion of the *spirit*; or, rather, by a *vision*; in which OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, himself, appeared to him, in person. For the *apostolic commission* used to be given, immediately, by OUR LORD himself, to the person, who was honored with *that high office*. And SAUL, who was to be his fellow APOSTLE, was now favored with receiving, both his *commission*, and *qualifications*, immediately from OUR LORD. Nay; I should think it very likely, that BARNABAS had such a *vision*, whilst he was praying in one of the courts of the *temple*. For a more likely, and proper, time and place, cannot readily be assigned.

It may be deemed a very considerable *objection* against all this, that St. LUKE, in the *history of the Acts of the APOSTLES*, is intirely silent, as to the time when, and the manner in which, BARNABAS was constituted an APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. But, to this, it is easie to reply; that, antecedent to SAUL's going out, upon *this commission*, St. LUKE hath taken very little notice of his receiving it. We are left to collect it, from St. PAUL's speeches, afterwards; and from the short and transient hints of it, which are dispersed, up and down, in

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An. Christi in his *epistles*. And, were it not for these last helps, we should not  
 44. have been able to give any more account of it, than we can of BAR-  
 Claud. 4. NABAS his receiveing his *illumination*, and *apostolic power*. From *the*  
 Book III. *history*, which followeth, and from the *epistles*, we may collect a ge-  
 Ch. I. neral account of both. Indeed, that, concerning SAUL, is much  
 Sect. IV. more perfect. For the history of him is related much more largely.  
 Acts xii. And (very probably) he received *more abundant revelations*; though  
 ult. their power and authority, as APOSTLES, were equal.

I do not know whether the *divine wisdom* might not choose these two men, for APOSTLES *to the gentile world*, for this reason, among others; *namely*, that BARNABAS his singular softness of temper, and remarkable goodness, and SAUL's zeal and warmth, might make a proper mixture for so great and extraordinary an undertaking. For it was, undoubtedly, an honor to the *divine wisdom*, that he raised up men, whose natural tempers, as well as supernatural gifts, were well suited to their functions.

At the first view, it appeareth very strange, that there should be *twelve* APOSTLES *of the circumcision*, and but *two* APOSTLES *of the gentiles*; when the *gentiles* were so much more numerous than the *jews*. But, if we consider that the *gentiles* were, many of them, better disposed to receive the *gospel*; that these two APOSTLES had numerous *assistants*, who attended upon them, or went and came at their directions; and that PAUL labored more abundantly than all the *twelve* APOSTLES *of the circumcision*; — it will abate our wonder; and convince us, that the method, which GOD took, was sufficient to attain the end proposed.



## C H A P. II.

SAUL'S *first* apostolic journey, (along with BARNABAS, his brother APOSTLE) through Cyprus, Pamphilia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia: to convert idolatrous gentiles; as well as such jews, and devout gentiles, as were disposed to imbrace christianity. *Acts* xiii<sup>th</sup> and xiv<sup>th</sup> chapters.

## S E C T. I.

BARNABAS and SAUL return from Jerusalem to Antioch; and take, along with them, John Mark. They are recommended to GOD, for his blessing, by fasting, prayer, and the laying on of the hands of the prophets and teachers, at Antioch, in order to their setting out, upon their first apostolic journey. *Acts* xiii. 1, 2, 3.

**B**ARNABAS and SAUL, thus qualified, and put in commission, An. Christi 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. I. Acts xiii. 1. as APOSTLES of the heathen world, fulfilled their ministry, at Jerusalem; which was "the faithfully delivering the charity into the hands of the elders there."<sup>a</sup> And then they returned to Antioch in Syria; takeing along with them John, whose surname was Mark. He was nephew to BARNABAS. And it was at his mother's house, that St. PETER found the christians praying, when he was miraculously delivered out of the hands of Herod. Of all the APOSTLES, Mark seemeth to have had a peculiar regard and affection for St. PETER.<sup>b</sup> But, as that APOSTLE was now gone from Jerusalem; and whither, John Mark (very probably) knew not; he set forward, with his uncle BARNABAS, and with SAUL, upon their first apostolic journey. But, before they go out, they are, by the immediate direction of the spirit, recommended unto GOD, for his blessing: and that in the following manner. The church at Antioch in Syria (which

<sup>a</sup> Acts xi. 30. compared with xii. 25. It must be observed, that the last verse of Acts xii. ought to have been the first verse of chap. xiii. For Acts xii. 24. finisheth the story of Herod's death, and the effects which it had upon the christian church. And then, ver. 25. a new story is begun; which is carried on, in the following chapter.

<sup>b</sup> Acts xii. 12. 1 Pet. v. 13.



An. Christi (which appeareth to have consisted of converts from among the *devout gentiles*) was, from this time forward, looked upon, as the *mother-church* to the *gentile churches*; as that of *Jerusalem* was of the *jewish*, or of *all the christian, churches*. For, as the APOSTLES, and apostolic men, were sent out, from the church, at *Jerusalem*, to convert *jews, samaritanes, and devout gentiles*; and afterwards returned thither, to give an account of their successe: — so the APOSTLES of the *gentiles*, and their *assistents*, were sent out, from *Antioch*, in *Syria*, among the *idolatrous gentiles*; and returned thither, to give an account of their successe. In that church, at *Antioch*, there was no APOSTLE, before this return of BARNABAS and SAUL; nor were they, as yet, declared to be APOSTLES. But there were, some *superior prophets*; and others, who were *doctors, or teachers*. And they had, among them, the care of *that church*; governing and teaching it, by an extraordinary assistance of the *spirit*; namely, *Barnabas*; and *Simeon*, called *Niger*, [or *the Black*; <sup>c</sup>] *Lucius*, a *Cyrenæan*, and *Manabem*, who had been brought up with <sup>d</sup> *Herod Antipas*, the *tetrarch* of *Galilee*; and, lastly, *Saul*.

One day, while they were assembled for religious worship, and were spending their time, in prayer, fasting, and other acts of devotion; the *spirit* made known, to *that church*, their *apostleship*; and, by the mouth of some of the *prophets*, there present, said: "Separate me BARNABAS and SAUL, unto the work, to which I have already called them." They readily obeyed that divine direction. And, haveing, in a very solemn manner, recommended them unto GOD, for his blessing, by fasting, and prayer, and the laying on of the hands of the *prophets* and *teachers*; they very affectionately took their leave of them; when they went out, as APOSTLES, to the *idolatrous gentiles*. Not that, by the laying on of their hands, they conferred any

Ver. 1. <sup>c</sup> *Niger*.] This is one instance, out of many, of St. LUKE's latinizing; where he preserveth even the *latin* termination. Some have conjectured, that this was *Simon* the *Cyrenæan*, the father of *Alexander* and *Rufus*; who was compelled to bear the cross after CHRIST, when he went up mount *Calvary*. For, it is very probable, that he was of a *tawny*, or *black*, complexion; as the *Africans* generally are. The onely objection to this, is, that *Lucius*, who is next mentioned, is called a *Cyrenæan*, by way of distinction from the other; as if he had been the onely *Cyrenæan* there present. But this *Simeon*, called *Niger*, might be a native of some other part of *Africa*. Whoever this *Simon*, or *Simeon*, was; the *romans*, most likely, had given him the surname of *Niger*, or *the black*.

<sup>d</sup> So *σύντροφος* signifieth. [See 2 *Maccab.* ix. 29.] See, also, *Plutarch* and *Polybius*, as quoted by *Raphelius*; who hath observed that it was customary for princes and great men to have boys brought up along with them, as their play-fellows and companions.



any spiritual gifts, or miraculous powers. For BARNABAS and SAUL were already full of the holy spirit. And none but APOSTLES could confer such gifts, or powers, where they were wanting. Neither could the prophets at Antioch give a commission, or authority, to these two APOSTLES of the gentiles. For they had already received full commission and authority, from OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST himself. They, therefore, did no more than pray with, and for, them; and earnestly implore the divine blessing, upon their future labors. In which sense, CHRIST's ministers are ordained, now a-days; or separated unto their great and solemn office. For they derive no power or authority from men; nor can bishops, or presbyters, confer the holy spirit, by the laying on of their hands. For the age of miracles is ceased. And none but APOSTLES could confer the spirit, whilst it continued.

An. Christi 45. Claud. 5.

Book III. Ch. II.

Sec. II.

Acts xiii.

4.

The first

period of

the con-

version of

the idola-

trous gen-

tiles, was

from the

year of

CHRIST

45, to the

year 49.

And, during

this

period, it

was not

known to

any of the

church at

Jerusa-

lem, that

the gos-

pel was

preached

among the

idola-

trous

gentiles.

C H A P. II. S E C T. II.

BARNABAS and SAUL (with John Mark to attend upon them) go to Seleucia. From thence they sail to Cyprus. They preach to the jews, and devout gentiles, in the synagogues, at Salamis. They go, through the island, to Paphos; and there convert the roman proconsul. SAUL, from this time, is called PAUL. They afterwards sailed to Perga, in Pamphilia; from whence John Mark returned to Jerusalem; leaveing them to prosecute the work without him. Acts xiii. 4, — 13.

**B**ARNABAS and SAUL, thus commissioned, by the LORD JESUS CHRIST; and sent out, by the direction of the holy spirit; went down to Seleucia of Pieria. It lay fifteen miles below Antioch, upon the same river, Orontes; and five, from the place, where the river falls into the sea. It was built by Seleucus Nicator; from whom it had the name of Seleucia. From thence, they sailed to the island Cyprus, situated in the eastern part of the mediterranean sea;



An. Christi 45.  
 Claud. 5.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. II.  
 Sect. II.  
 Acts xiii.  
 4, &c.

being BARNABAS his native country. As *this island* was not far from *Judæa*, it abounded with *jews*; and, that they were very numerous there, is confirmed by several *antient authors*. The first place, which they arrived at, in that *island*, was the city *Salamis*; which lay upon the eastern extremity, and was one of the nighest ports to *Syria*. *Christianity* had already been planted, in some parts of the island; though it was onely among the *jews*. [Acts xi. 19.] But, now, BARNABAS and SAUL frequented the synagogues, at *Salamis* (where there were more than one) and preached the *gospel*, both to the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*. And thus far, *John Mark*, as their *minister*, or *assistent*, waited upon them; and did other lesser offices for them, and at their direction; as the [*ὑπηρέται*] *ministers* did, to the *rulers of the jewish synagogues*. After that, they travelled, almost the length of the island, 'till they came to *Paphos*; which was situated upon the western extremity, and famous among the *beathens*, for the temple, and the obscene worship, of *Paphian Venus*. There resided *Sergius Paulus*, the *roman proconsul*;<sup>a</sup> who was a man of good understanding, and well-disposed to receive the truth, and obey it. And, as he had heard of the character of these two APOSTLES; and (very probably) some imperfect rumor of the *christian religion*; he sent for them, and desired that they would give him an account of the *christian doctrine*. As he was the first of the *idolatrous gentiles*, that ever the *gospel* was preached to<sup>b</sup>; BARNABAS and SAUL did not go to offer it to him. For they had scarce shook off their *jewish præjudices*. But he sent for them; as *Cornelius*, the first-fruits of the *devout gentiles*, sent for the APOSTLE PETER; requesting it, as a favor, that he might hear them preach the *gospel*. But with the *proconsul*, there was one of the *magi*,<sup>c</sup> a false prophet, of the nation of the *jews*, whose name

Ver. 7. <sup>a</sup> *Strabo* saith [l. 14. sub. fin.] that *Cyprus* was a *prætorian* (and not a *consular*) province. And, therefore, one would think, that, in propriety of speech, *Sergius Paulus* should have been called *ἐπαρχὴς*, vel. *ἀντισπαρχὴς*, a *proprætor*; and not *ἀνθύπατος*, a *proconsul*. But Dr. *Lardner* hath, with great clearness, and most satisfactory evidence, shown, that the *governors of prætorian provinces* were commonly called *proconsuls*. See his *credibility of the gospel history*, part i. p. 31, 32. 2d edition, p. 51, &c. 3d edition. & *Dio*, p. 505. B, C. collat. cum p. 504, C.

<sup>b</sup> That *Sergius Paulus* might leave off his idolatrous rites, from this time, even though he continued in that office; much more if he quitted it; — See *Moyle's works*, vol. 2. p. 196, 197. I suppose, if he had quitted his office, upon the account of his haveing imbraced the *christian religion*, the sacred historian would have taken notice of it.

Ver. 8. <sup>c</sup> See the note on *Acts* viii. 9. *Herodotus* [edit. Gale, p. 44.] represents the *μάγοι* as one of the nations of the *Medes*. However; he afterwards speaks of some of them as *interpreters of dreams*; [p. 46; 51. ad fin. p. 52; 55.] and as singing over the *Persian sacrifices*, and necessarily præsideing. [p. 57.]



name was *Bar-Jesus*. He had a great influence over that governor. And, when *Bar-Jesus*, who was otherwise called *Elymas* (which, in the *arabic* tongue, signifieth *the magian*) found that the *proconsul* was inclined to hear, and imbrace, the *christian faith*, he secretly, and with all his might, endeavored to dissuade him from it. SAUL soon detected his malice and wickedness, and severely reprimanded him; denouncing against him the approaching judgments of GOD. Just as St. PETER had reprimanded the hypocrisy and wickedness of *Simon Magus*; and, by his *apostolic power*, inflicted death upon *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, for their fraud and lying, when they pretended to contribute all they had, towards the charitable, *christian, fund*. For SAUL, being full of the *holy spirit*, and fixing his eyes intently upon *Bar-Jesus*; he, in an awful and affecting manner, thus addressed him: "You deceitful, malicious, and monstrously wicked, man; who, by your enmity to truth and holiness, prove yourself a child of Satan, that grand apostate. Dare you still persist in perverting men from the straight ways of knowledge and virtue, in which the LORD JESUS CHRIST would have all men to walk? Have you not already too long seduced men into error and wickedness, by your lying and hypocrisy? You have, indeed, hitherto escaped with impunity: but you shall no longer escape. For the hand of the LORD JESUS, whose gospel you oppose, is upon you; the divine judgments will speedily overtake you. And you shall be, for some time, intirely blind, and deprived of your bodily sight; which will be a lively emblem of the wilful and affected blindness of your understanding, or conscience." Scarce had SAUL spoke the words, when suddenly there fell upon *Bar-Jesus* his eyes a total blindness. And he went about, groping, like one in the dark; and seeking for somebody to lead him by the hand. His being thus instantly struck blind, did effectually open the *proconsul's* eyes. Upon which, he embraced the *christian faith*; being quite astonished at the doctrine of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, which was attended with such *divine power*, and amazing evidence. And this *proconsul* was the first convert to *christianity*, among the *idolatrous gentiles*. Now, therefore, did BARNABAS and SAUL begin to execute their *apostolic commission*, by laying the foundation of the *christian church*, among the *idolatrous gentiles*; and making use of the *apostolic rod*. And they, very probably, communicated the gift of the *holy spirit* to the *proconsul*, by the laying on of their hands. For (as it will hereafter appear) they usually did so, to all their *adult converts*.

An. Christi  
45.  
Claud. 5.  
Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect. II.  
Acts xiii.  
8, &c.



An. Christi 45. Claud. 5. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. II. Acts xiii. 13. About this time, also, SAUL began to be called PAUL. The reasons, which have been assigned for this, are various and many. I shall onely mention the two, which are most probable. (1.) Some think that he had the name of PAUL given him, from converting *Sergius Paulus*; as *Scipio* was called *Africanus*, from his conquering *Africa*; and other *romans* had names given them, from subdueing other countries. But, I rather approve of the *second* way of accounting for it; namely, That he had received, at his circumcision, the two names of PAUL and SAUL; that is, PAUL, as his *roman* name; for he was borne a freeman of *Rome*: and SAUL, as his *jewish* name; for he was a *jew*, and even an *hebrew of the hebrews*. As, therefore, he used to be called SAUL, whilst he continued among the *jews*; that being a more common and acceptable name among them; so hereafter, being to go among the *gentiles*, he goeth by the name of PAUL, as what would be better known, and more acceptable, to them.<sup>d</sup> For the same reason, *Silas*, who was afterwards St. PAUL's great companion, seemeth to me to have had also the name of *Silvanus*; and to have gone, by the former name, among the *jews*; and by the latter, among the *romans*. For I take him to have been a freeman of *Rome*, as well as St. PAUL. From this time, it is observable that St. LUKE, in the *history of the Acts of the APOSTLES*, generally mentioneth PAUL before BARNABAS. Whereas; he had, hitherto, always mentioned him last. Nay; in reckoning up the five, who were onely *prophets and teachers*, in the church, at *Antioch*, he put BARNABAS the first, and SAUL the last: because (very probably) BARNABAS was one of the oldest, and SAUL the youngest, convert, among them. But now, when he became so eminent an APOSTLE, *as not to come a whit behind the chief of the APOSTLES*, he is mentioned *the first*; as the principal person of the story, and the most honored of them all.

PAUL, BARNABAS, and MARK, looseing from *Paphos*, sailed (most probably, up the river *Cestrus*) to *Perga*, a town of *Pamphilia*, not far from the coast of *Asia Minor*; nigh to which there was a temple dedicated to *Diana*. There seemeth to have been neither a *jewish synagogue*, nor *proseucha*, in that town. For we read nothing of their attempting to preach the *gospel*, there, at this time. But there it was, that *John Mark* left them, and went back to *Jerusalem*; as supposing, perhaps, that St. PETER (in whose company he seemeth to have most delighted) might be returned thither: especially, as *king Herod* was

Ver. 9. <sup>d</sup> Vid. Origen. præfat. ad Roman.



was dead; who had formerly made such an attempt upon the life of that APOSTLE.

Whether *John Mark* made any scruple of receiveing *idolatrous gentiles*, into the *christian church*; or was discouraged by the dangers and difficulties of such an attempt; or was prevailed upon to return, merely out of his extraordinary regard and affection for St. PETER; — cannot now be determined, with any certainty.

An. Christi  
46.  
Claud. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect. III.  
Acts xiii.  
14, &c.

## CHAP. II. SECT. III.

PAUL and BARNABAS go to Antioch in Pisidia; enter the synagogue there. PAUL made a long discourse; by which he converted several jews, and devout gentiles. Acts xiii. 14, — 43.

FROM Perga, PAUL and BARNABAS went, farther into the country, and came to *Antioch in Pisidia*. There they, according to custom, entered into the *jewish synagogue*, on the sabbath-day, and sat down; most probably in the chairs of the *doctors*, to intimate their errand. The *antient jews* had divided the *law* into 53, or 54 *sections*; and the *prophets* into as many. And, by usually reading a *section* of each, every sabbath-day; and joining two of the shortest together, for two *sabbath-days*; they read the greatest part of the old testament over, once every year.<sup>a</sup> Some say that the custom

Ver. 15. <sup>a</sup> See *Prideaux his connection*, &c. vol. I. p. 333, 334. 4th edition, 8vo. 1718. I had once thought that the *jews*, in their synagogues, had read through the whole of the old testament, once every year. But, in Dr. *Wotton's misna*, [vol. 2. p. 107.] I find the following observations.

“ The old testament is divided, by the *jews*, into the *law*, the *prophets*, (except  
“ *Daniel*) and what the christian writers call the *hagiographa*, the *jews* onely [*chetu-*  
“ *bim*] *writings*. The *law* and the *prophets* (under which they comprehend *Joshua*,  
“ *Judges*, the books of *Samuel*, and the *Kings*) were read, in the synagogues, every  
“ sabbath day. The *law*, in it's course, as St. *James* observes, *Acts* xv. 21. and  
“ some particular sections in the *prophets*, which they call *haphtharoth*, that corres-  
“ pond to the respective *parashaes*, or sections, in the *law*. The other books, or  
“ *writings*, are *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Daniel*, *Chronicles*, *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*,  
“ *Ruth*, *Canticles*, *Esther*, and *Lamentations*. These were not read, in the syna-  
“ gogues, in the ordinary sabbatic service. As for the *Psalms*, which are a very con-  
siderable



An. Christi 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. III. Acts xiii. 15, &c. custom was introduced by *Ezra*. And, indeed, it appeareth to have been of an antient date; though scarce so antient as *Ezra*. 'Till that reading of the *law* and the *prophets* was over, PAUL and BARNABAS sate as hearers. But, after the reading of the *scriptures*, the rulers of the synagogue used to permit, or desire, whom they pleased, to explaine what had been read; or to make some useful exhortations to the people. And, either knowing something of the character of these two APOSTLES; or, perhaps, merely from their sitting in the chairs of the *doctors*; the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, desiring, that, if they had any doctrine, or pious exhortation, to deliver unto the people, they would speak freely and openly, in the synagogue. Then PAUL, (who was generally their mouth, or speaker; as St. PETER was, among the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*) beckoning with his hand for silence, addressed himself, both to the *jews* and *devout gentiles*, saying: "You, *Israelites*; and you, *gentiles*, " who also fear and worship the *true* GOD; attend to what I am going to say. The GOD of *Israel*, the one onely living and true " GOD,<sup>b</sup> chose our *fathers*, to bear their testimony against *idolatry*, and

" fiderable part of the *hagiographa*, they were never (as I believe) read in course, " in the liturgic offices, as they are with us: but some of the most remarkable of " them, especially of those which related the wonderful things, which GOD had " wrought for their forefathers, were inserted in their *daily offices*, and in the particular offices of their solemn *festivals*; among which, the sabbath was the chief." This is confirmed by what Dr. *Lightfoot* has said, vol. 2. p. 1102. of his works. *Vitrina de vetere synagoga*, l. 3. part. ii. c. 10.

Ver. 17. <sup>b</sup> The APOSTLES preached the same GOD, in whom the *jews* already believed; and would have persuaded them, likewise, to have believed in JESUS of *Nazareth*, as the promised *messiah*. To convince them that he was so, they argued, both from *facts*, and from the *prophecies* of the old testament. This was their usual method of treating both the *jews* and *devout gentiles*. But, when they addressed *devout gentiles* alone; they did not recite the *history* of the old testament, and take their rise from the *renowned ancestors* of the *jewish nation*. No! then it was, "In every nation, he that feareth GOD, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto him." [See *Acts* x. 34, 35.] But, when the *jews* were the onely, or the principal, persons addressed; then they took their rise from the *history* of past dispensations: and, particularly, from *Abraham*, the father of the nation; who was the first that was separated from an *idolatrous* world, and had the most expresse promise, "that, in his seed, all the nations of the earth should be blessed:" as they were, very eminently, in JESUS CHRIST, his great descendent. *Abraham*, for his probity, faith, and chearful obedience, was intitled the father of the faithful; and good men were styled the children of *Abraham*. His name was in great esteem among the *jews*, and was as likely as any thing to procure attention. St. MATTHEW, who wrote his *gospel* more immediately for the use of the converted *jews*, begineth OUR LORD's *genealogy* with *Abraham*. St. PETER introduceth his discourse, to the *jews*, with the name of that great patriarch. [Acts iii. 13.] So doeth St. STEPHEN. [Acts vii. 2.] And,



“ and to receive the former revelations of his mind and will. And  
 “ he increased their numbers, and made them considerable, even  
 “ when they were strangers, in the land of *Ægypt*; and, when they  
 “ were oppressed there, he, miraculously, and by his mighty power,  
 “ raised them from their low estate; brought them out from thence;  
 “ and as miraculously preserved them, for about forty years in the  
 “ wilderness; bearing with them, though they were a perverse and  
 “ disobedient people; feeding and cherishing them, as a nursing mo-  
 “ ther does her own children. <sup>c</sup> He hedged them in, by peculiar  
 “ laws, from mixing with the *nations*: lest they should learn their  
 “ evil customs; and, particularly, lest they should be infected with  
 “ their *idolatry*. And he destroyed seven idolatrous, and excedeing-  
 “ ly wicked, nations, in the land of *Canaan*<sup>d</sup>; namely, the *Hittites*,  
 “ the *Girgashites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the  
 “ *Hivites*, and the *Jebusites*; in order to plant his people *Israel*,  
 “ there, for a testimony against the *idolatry* and wickedness of the  
 “ world around them. And there they continued, for about four  
 “ hundred and fifty years, <sup>e</sup> governed sometimes by *judges*, whom  
 “ GOD

An. Christi  
 46.  
 Claud. 6.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. II.  
 Sect. III.  
 Acts xiii.  
 17, &c.

And St. PAUL, in this place, very naturally, and with great propriety, mentions the name of *Israel*; taking occasion, from the *history of past dispensations*, to introduce the *gospel-doctrine*. Which was, in brief, that the great promise, made of old to the *fathers*, was now accomplished; and the *messiah* actually come. For the *Abrahamic covenant* and the *gospel* had a great affinity. The *law of Moses* being onely an intermediate state; to preserve, at least, one nation, from *idolatry*, and præpare them for the reception of the *messiah*. May we not hence conjecture, whenever they are said to go to the *jewish synagogue*, and discourse, or preach, or teach the word of the LORD, or the kingdom of GOD, or the word of GOD, or the word; that this was their common method, which they used more largely, or briefly, as they saw occasion?

Ver. 18. <sup>c</sup> Ἐποποθέμενοι, according to the *Alexandrian* and *Cambridge manuscripts*, and the *syriac*, *arabic*, and *æthiopic versions*. [Vid. *Millium & Drusium*.] See how the divine care over *Israel* is expressed, *Deut.* xxxii. 10, 11, 12.

Ver. 19. <sup>d</sup> There are seven nations mentioned, *Deut.* vii. 1. *Josh.* iii. 10. and xxiv. 11. But, *Exod.* iii. 8. there are onely six. For the *Girgashites* are there wanting. The *hebrews* say, that they fled before the face of the *Israelites*, and settled in *Africa*. And *Procopius* mentioneth them among the *Africans*. *Vandalicorum*, l. 2. [Vid. *Grot. in loc.*]

Ver. 20. <sup>e</sup> Sir *John Marsham*, and others after him, have conjectured, that the judges, in *Israel*, did not reign over the whole nation, one after another; but, sometimes, more than one reigned, at the same time, in different parts of the land. However; the reigns of the several judges, when added to one another, amount exactly to 450 years. And it is likely that that was the common computation of the *jews*, in St. PAUL's days; from which the APOSTLE had no particular occasion to vary. [See *Whiston's short view of the chronology of the old testament*, p. 43, &c.] Others reckon that the APOSTLE begins his computation from the birth of *Isaac*, when *Canaan* was promised unto *Abraham* and his seed; and carries it down unto their getting.



An. Christi 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. III. Acts xiii. 20, &c.

" GOD raised up, as occasion was. And, when they desired a king,  
 " like the surrounding nations; he gave them *Saul*, the son of *Kish*,  
 " of the tribe of *Benjamin*; who (together with *Samuel* the pro-  
 " phet) governed *Israel* forty years.<sup>f</sup> And, having removed him,  
 " GOD raised up *David*, from a mean and low state of life, to be  
 " king over his people *Israel*. Of whom he testified his approba-  
 " tion, saying; *I have found David, the son of Jesse*; (who will not,  
 " like *Saul*, disregard my commands; but will prove) *a man ac-*  
 " *cording to mine own heart*; and govern *Israel*, just as I shall direct  
 " and appoint.<sup>g</sup> From king *David*, GOD promised that the *messiah*  
 " should descend.<sup>h</sup> And he hath now fulfilled that promise. For  
 " he hath actually raised up that *savior*, to *Israel*, out of the house  
 " of *David*. And *Jesus of Nazareth* is the very person. Before  
 " him, came *John the baptist*, in the spirit and power of *Elijah*, to  
 " prepare the way for his appearance; by preaching up the ne-  
 " cessity of repentance unto all *Israel*, and baptizing multitudes of  
 " such

getting possession of that land, and it's being divided unto them by lot, which was about 450 years. And they point and interpret this verse, thus, — " After these things were transacted; which took up the space of about 450 years; then GOD gave them judges, &c." So that, according to this interpretation, the time, in which the judges reigned in *Israel*, is not determined in this place.

Ver. 21. <sup>i</sup> *Josephus* [*Antiq. Jud.* l. 6. c. ult. § ult.] hath these words, concerning *Saul*. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ, Σαυὴλ ἔτι ὅτε ζῶντος τοῦ Σαουλ τελευτήσαντος δὲ, δύο καὶ ἑκοστί. " He [that is, SAUL,] reigned 18 years, while *Samuel* was alive; and 22 years, after his death." The copies of *Epiphanius* leave out [ἐκοστί 20,] and they are judged, by some learned men, to be the most correct copies, that do so. (Vid. *Hudson in loc.*) But, as all the greek copies of *Josephus* retain the word [ἐκοστί 20,] and the common reading there, is supported, by this part of St. PAUL's speech, at *Antioch*, I should be rather inclined to retain it, provided the exact chronology of the old testament would admit of it.

Ver. 22. <sup>g</sup> When it is said, that king *David* was a man after GOD's own heart; it ought to be understood of his public (and not of his private) character. " He was a man after GOD's own heart, because he ruled his people *Israel*, according to the divine will." He did not allow of idolatry. He did not set up for absolute power. He was guided, in the government of the nation of *Israel*, by the law of *Moses*, as the standing rule of government; and by the prophet, or the divine oracle, whereby GOD gave directions upon particular emergencies. Whatever SAUL's private character was, he was not a good king in *Israel*. He did not follow the law, the oracle, and the prophet; but attempted to be absolute; and thereby to subvert the constitution of that kingdom.

That this was the meaning of *David's* being a man after GOD's own heart, will easily appear, from comparing the following texts, 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14, and xv. 28. and xxviii. 17, 18. 1 Chron. x. 13, 14. Ps. lxxviii. 70, &c. and lxxxix. 20, &c.

Ver. 23. <sup>h</sup> Isa. ix. 6, 7. Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. compared with Psal. lxxxix. 3, 4; 24; 28.



" such as professed repentance ; that they might be pure, and meet  
 " subjects for that *boly kingdom* approaching. An. Christi  
46.  
Claud. 6.  
 " And, though the people in general accounted *John* a *prophet*,  
 " and many took him for the *messiah*; yet, when he had almost ful- Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect. III.  
 " filled the course of his ministry, he declared, that he deserved not Acts xiii.  
 " the honor done him. For he was not the *messiah*. But there was 24, &c.  
 " one coming after him, whose shoes he was not worthy to stoop down  
 " and loose ; and that was the *messiah* himself. The great and emi-  
 " nent person, who came after *John*, and who was actually the *mes-*  
 " *siah*, was *JESUS of Nazareth*; whose *APOSTLES* we are, travell-  
 " ing through the world, qualified and commissioned by him, to  
 " publish these glad tideings of great joy, among *all nations*. And, at  
 " present, more particularly to you, *jews*, and to you, *devout gen-*  
 " *tiles*, who worship the *true GOD*, and whom we look upon, as  
 " *brethren*, as well as the *jews* : — Unto both of you, I say, is  
 " this doctrine of salvation sent ; though you live not in the promised  
 " land of *Canaan*. Whereas ; the *jews*, who dwell at *Jerusalem* ;  
 " and especially their rulers, being ignorant of his being the true  
 " *messiah*, through their misinterpretations of the *prophecies* concerning  
 " him ; those very *prophecies*, I mean, which are read in their *synagogues*,  
 " every sabbath-day ; — have, by condemning him, fulfilled what was  
 " there prædicted.<sup>i</sup> Nay ; though they could not justly accuse him of  
 " any crime, much lesse of any capital crime ; yet they petitioned *Pilate*,  
 " the *roman procurator*, that he might be crucified. And, when all the  
 " *prophecies*, concerning his death, and the manner and circumstan-  
 " ces of it, were fulfilled ; *Joseph of Arimathea*, a person of dis-  
 " tinction, who was one of his disciples, was permitted to take  
 " down his body from the *croffe* ; and he, together with *Nicodemus*,  
 " imbalmed and buried it ; laying it in a new sepulchre, which was  
 " hewn out of a rock. But, though a great stone was laid, to stop  
 " the mouth of the sepulchre, and *Pilate's* signet fixed upon it, and a  
 " guard of *roman* soldiers set to watch the body ; yet *GOD* raised him  
 " from the dead. And, by all their care, they could not prevent his  
 " resurrection, or resist the *divine power*. Of the truth and reality  
 " of his resurrection, there were sufficient *witnesses*. For he appeared,  
 " once and again, for several days together, unto them, who had been  
 " well acquainted with him before his death ; who had gone up with  
 " him, from *Galilee*, to *Jerusalem* ; and who were so thoroughly satis-  
 " fied that he was risen again, as to be competent, and unexceptionable,  
 " VOL. II. E " witnesses

Ver. 27. <sup>i</sup> More particularly the liii<sup>d</sup>. chapter of *Isaiah* ; and *Dan*. ix. 26.



An. Christi 46: Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. III. Acts xiii. 31, &c.

"witnesses unto the people. And we join with them, in bearing testimony. For this is our message to you, at this time: namely, That the grand and antient promise, of a messiah, which was frequently made, and repeted, to our fathers, GOD hath now fulfilled, unto us, their children; and that, by raising up JESUS from the dead, he hath given a strong and remarkable evidence of his being the very person. For of him it is written, in the second psalm,<sup>k</sup> Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee; that is, Thou art LORD and heir of all things, as being the first-begotten (or first-borne) from the dead. And, by having raised him from the dead, (not as the other persons, who were raised before him, to die again; but) so as that he should never die any more; he hath fulfilled other prophecies: particularly, Isa. lv. 3, &c. where he promiseth to make an everlasting covenant, and to grant the sure mercies of David, or of the son of David; who was to be a witness to the people of Israel, and likewise to accept the other nations, into his kingdom. Now, if the messiah had continued in the grave, and never been exalted to his power and dominion, he could not have performed his part of the everlasting covenant; nor blessed the world with the great mercies, promised to the house of David. Wherefore, in another psalm,<sup>l</sup> he thus addresseth his father, Thou wilt not suffer thine holy one to see corruption. Which expressions cannot, with that propriety and emphasis, be applied to king David, as they may to JESUS, his great descendent. For David, after he had done the work of his day, did, by the will and appointment of GOD, fall asleep; and was gathered to his mortal progenitors; and his body is long since reduced to corruption and rottenness. But this was literally fulfilled, in JESUS of Nazareth, whom GOD raised from the dead, on the third day; that is, before his body was corrupted. Seeing, therefore, GOD of old promised him; the antient prophets prophesied of him; John the baptist prepared the way before his coming; and pointed out JESUS of Nazareth to the people, as the very person: Seeing

Ver. 33. <sup>k</sup> Some manuscripts and fathers read here the first psalm. [vid. Mill.] Which hath made some to look upon what we call the first, to have been either an introduction to the whole book of psalms; or to have been formerly joined to the second, as a part of that psalm. And, accordingly, by some of the antients, the first and second were reckoned as but one psalm. — The psalms were originally divided. But the division of the other parts of scripture, into distinct chapters, is not so antient. And in many places, the divisions are not sufficiently judicious and accurate.

Ver. 35. <sup>l</sup> Psalm xvi. 10.



“ing GOD hath raised from the dead, never to die any more; and  
 “so many hundreds, now living, can bear witnesse of the truth  
 “and reality of his resurrection: — Be it known unto you,  
 “that faith in him, and a conformity to *that doctrine*, which he  
 “hath sent us to publish among you, will justifie you, from all your  
 “past sins; from the guilt of many of which, you could not be jus-  
 “tified, by the *law of Moses*. And let me intreat you to take heed,  
 “lest, by your rejecting this proposeal, that be applicable to you,  
 “which one of the *antient prophets*<sup>m</sup> spoke, upon another occasion,  
 “unto such as were then wicked and disobedient: *Behold, you, that*  
 “*despise my message, be astonished; and go away and hide yourselves,*  
 “*with shame and confusion of face. For, though I am doing such a*  
 “*thing, in your days, as is great, extraordinary, and surprizeing;*  
 “*yet you will not believe and regard it; even though it be declared*  
 “*unto you, with so much plainnesse and convinceing evidence.*”

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 46.  
 Claud. 6.  
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 Sect. III.  
 Acts xiii.  
 38, &c.

When PAUL had made an end of speaking, the *jews*, went out of the synagogue, and the *devout gentiles* (who were, of all others, the best disposed for the reception of *christianity*) tarried behind; and they desired of PAUL and BARNABAS, that this *doctrine* might be preached to them, in the following week, and before the next *sabbath-day*<sup>o</sup>; that is, on the second and fifth day of the week, on which they used to assemble, at the synagogue, as well as on the sabbath-day. When the congregation was broken up, several of the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*, followed PAUL and BARNABAS, and imbraced the *christian religion*: whom the APOSTLES farther instructed in the *scheme of the gospel-doctrine*; and exhorted them, by all means, to persevere in *that religion*, which they had now imbraced.

Ver. 40. <sup>m</sup> Hab. i. 5. *The twelve lesser prophets* used to be bound together, and quoted as one book. And, therefore, instead of mentioning the *particular prophet*, the *jews* used to say, “The *prophets* have said so and so.”

Ver. 42. <sup>n</sup> Παρεκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη, *They besought the gentiles; or the gentiles besought them.*] The words are capable of either interpretation. But I prefer the latter, because we have no other instance of the APOSTLES beseeching persons to hear them; but several, of persons begging, or desiring, to hear them. And the latter was more becomeing the dignity of their high office. We have an instance, *ver. 48*, of *this chapter*; where the *nominative case* follows it's *verb*, as I suppose it doeth here. Καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι ἐς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. There are other instances, *John ii. 11. Rom. xii. 7.*

<sup>o</sup> See *Lightfoot's works*, vol. I. p. 291. But the words should be read thus, ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ σαββάτων. See *Grotius, Drusius, Scaliger, & Casaubon*, in loc.



## C H A P. II. S E C T. IV.

*The idolatrous gentiles flock to the synagogue, the next sabbath-day. The jews, being exasperated, blaspheme. PAUL and BARNABAS waxed bold, and preached to the idolatrous gentiles; gathering the first church of them, there. The unbelieving jews, upon that, raise a persecution against the two APOSTLES; who, notwithstanding, behave with great meeknesse and patience. Acts xiii. 44, — 52.*

An. Christi  
46.  
Claud. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xiii.  
44, &c.

**T**H E coming of the two APOSTLES, and their preaching in the *synagogue*, the first *sabbath-day*, had made a great noise, and alarmed all the city; and their teaching the *devout gentiles*, in the succedeing week, had increased the rumor. Upon which, almost all the inhabitants flocked to the *synagogue*, the next *sabbath-day*, to hear them preach the *christian doctrine*; that is, the *idolatrous gentiles* came now, as well as the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*. But, when the *jews* saw the multitude of *idolatrous gentiles* flocking to their *synagogue*, and that the two APOSTLES were the occasion of it; they lost all patience. And, envying them, upon the account of the fame and reputation, which they had acquired, in so short a time, they openly opposed the *christian doctrine*; contradicting what PAUL said, and that with reproachful and railing speeches.<sup>a</sup> For the temper of the *jews* was every where alike, inveterately bent against the reception of the *gentiles*; unless they would first be circumcised, and become subject to the whole law. The two APOSTLES, haveing gained most of the *jewish converts*, which they expected there; and the rest being thus notoriously hardened; they indeavored to provoke them to jealousy, by takeing in the *idolatrous gentiles*; whom the *jews* had never, in the least degree, regarded as the people of GOD. But, as this was the first time of preaching

Ver. 45. <sup>a</sup> Now the beautiful *parable* of the elder brother's murmuring, at the return of the *prodigal son*, was remarkably fulfilled. [See *Luke xv. 25, &c.*]



preaching the *gospel* to any number of *idolatrous gentiles*; and was a new, a vast, attempt; and, in the account of the whole nation of the *jews*, an attempt that was excedeing odious; it required no small degree of resolution and *fortitude*, to set about it. Accordingly; it is taken notice of, by the sacred historian, St. LUKE, that, upon this occasion, PAUL AND BARNABAS WAXED BOLD; *that is*, they were animated with sufficient courage, publicly to tell the *jews* so harsh and ungrateful a truth, saying: "It was necessary for us, according to the wise order and appointment, which we received from heaven, to preach the *gospel*, first, unto you, *jews*. But *christianity* is not, like the *Mosaic dispensation*, confined to you alone. No! as you so generally reject the gracious offer, and thereby condemn<sup>b</sup> yourselves, as unworthy of the blessings and privileges of the *messiah's kingdom*; and, particularly, of that greatest blessing of eternal life and happiness; behold we will, for the future, apply ourselves onely to the *gentiles*,<sup>c</sup> in this city; (*that is*, such as have formerly been *idolatrous*, as well as *devout, gentiles*;) and receive, as many of them, as will imbrace the *gospel*, into the *christian church*. For, so hath the LORD JESUS CHRIST commanded us. And it is agreeable to what the *antient prophets* have predicted; particularly, *Isaiab*, [chap. xlix. 6.] where the *messiah* having complained of his laboring in vane, among the *jews*, GOD answered him: "Though Israel should not be gathered, yet he should be glorious in the eyes of the LORD; and GOD would be his strength and support. However; he adds, that he should have succeeded elsewhere. For it is a light thing (saith GOD) that thou shouldest be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel. I will, also, give thee for a light to the gentiles,<sup>d</sup> that thou mayest be my salvation, unto the ends of the earth." And, when even the *idolatrous gentiles* heard that such things had been prophesied, concerning them, many ages ago; and that the LORD JESUS had commanded his APOSTLES to make them the offers of salvation, and accept them into the *christian church*, without *circumcision*, and observing the *law of Moses*; they were excedeing glad; and highly applauded the *gospel-dispensation*, for its benevolence and extensive charity. And as many of them as were disposed for an eternal life<sup>e</sup> of perfection and felicity, openly imbraced the *christian religion*;

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Acts xiii.  
46, &c.]

Ver. 46. <sup>b</sup> Κρίνετε. See Matt. vii. 1, 2. John iii. 17, 18.

<sup>c</sup> Rom. xi. 30.

Ver. 47. <sup>d</sup> Luke ii. 32. Acts xxvi. 17, 18.

Ver. 48. <sup>e</sup> Καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ᾤσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. As many as were disposed for eternal life, believed.] The word τεταγμένοι most commonly signifieth, disposed,



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 46.  
 Claud. 6.  
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 Ch. II.  
 Sect. IV.  
 Acts xiii.  
 48, &c.

as the most apt and proper mean to præpare them for that perfect and glorious state. Thus was the *kingdom of GOD* taken from the unbelieving and disobedient *jews*, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.

After this, the *christian doctrine* was carried through all the surrounding country. For it was their common, and wise method, to begin with a city; and afterwards to plant *christianity* in the adjacent towns and villages.

As *Antioch* in *Pisidia* was a *gentile* city, the *jews* had not the civil power in their hands. But they were so incensed at the succeſſe of the two APOSTLES; and particularly at the reception of the *idolatrous gentiles*, without requiring them first to become *profelytes of righteousness*; that they exasperated some women, who were *devout gentiles*, and persons of some quality and distinction. And, by their means, drew their husbands, or such other leading men of the city as they could influence, into their quarrel. And so raised a persecution against PAUL and BARNABAS, and drove them out of their territories: though they had deserved other treatment at their hands. In return for such cruel and unjust useage, they did not call for fire from heaven to destroy them; nor work a *miracle* to do them any, the least, harm; no; nor did they so much as curse them, or thunder out their *anathemas* against them. They onely, according to the injunction of their LORD and master, [Matt. x. 14. Luke ix. 5. and x. 10, 11.] meekly

*disposed, or set in order.* And hence it is very frequently used, as a *military term*, for the regularly drawing up, or setting in order, *an army*. So it is used by St. LUKE, chap. vii. 8. and by Xenophon, *Cyropæd. edit. Hutchison*, 4to, l. 2. p. 148. — Εἰς μάχην τεταγμένους & l. 5. p. 328. Καὶ ἡ ἀλλή δὴ στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο τεταγμένον and in many other places. [See Wolfius in loc.] So, also, it is said to be used by Plato, Thucydides, Julian, Ælian, and Philo Judæus. And what sheweth that it doeth not here refer to the decrees of GOD, but to the disposition of the minds of these *gentiles*, is, it's being used by way of *antithesis* to the persons mentioned, ver. 46. *that is*, to the *unbelieving jews*; who, by their obstinacy and wickedness, condemned themselves, as unworthy of eternal life. Whereas; on the contrary, several of these *gentiles*, by their candor and probity of mind, manifested in so readily submitting to truth and evidence, and imbraceing a *religion*, so different from what they had received, and so contrary to their worldly interest; — showed themselves to be *well-disposed* for the reception of the *gospel*. And, as many of them as were *so disposed*, imbraced the *christian religion*; as the best mean to præpare them for an endless life of the greatest virtue and purity; as well as of the greatest glory, and most perfect happiness.

In this sense, the *syriac*, one of the most antient *versions* of the new testament, hath rendered these words. Which is of great moment: as that *translation* was made, before the sense of this place was disputed, by the different *sects* and parties of *christians*.



meekly shook off the dust of their feet, to testify that they had been preaching the *gospel* among them: and that, if they did perish in their sins, they were free from their blood, and had delivered their own souls. The next place, which they went to, was *Iconium*. But the disciples, whom they had made, at *Antioch*, were (notwithstanding the persecution) filled with joy, and with the *holy spirit*. Which phrase, [of being filled with the *holy spirit*,] is generally made use of, to intimate that the *spirit* fell down from heaven, immediately; and was not communicated, by the laying on of the hands of the APOSTLES. And that was, perhaps, the case with this first church of idolatrous gentiles; as we are assured it was, with the first-fruits of the devout gentiles. [Acts x. 44, &c.] And we may also observe, that, as the first, and most considerable, church of devout gentiles, was at *Antioch* in Syria; so the first church, gathered from among the idolatrous gentiles, was at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*.

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Claud. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xiii.  
51, 52.

## C H A P. II. S E C T. V.

PAUL *and* BARNABAS went to *Iconium*; preached in the synagogue there; made several converts, both among the jews and devout gentiles. The unbelieving jews and gentiles conspired against them; and drove them from thence, to *Derbe* and *Lystra*. Acts xiv. 1, — 7.

BEING driven from *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, they went yet farther into the country; and came to *Iconium*, a town, or small city, of *Lycaonia*, situated at the foot of *mount Taurus*. And there, also, was a synagogue of the jews; into which, PAUL and BARNABAS entered, and preached the *christian doctrine*, so successfully, that many were converted, both of the jews, and of the devout gentiles. [But the unbelieving jews, their ever implacable enemies, by wicked and unjustifiable methods, exasperated the minds of their neighbors, the idolatrous gentiles, against the new converts to christianity.] However; as they had such success, the two APOSTLES tarried a considerable time there, speaking openly and undauntedly in the name of the



An. Christi the LORD JESUS; who gave testimony to the truth of the *gospel-doc-*  
 46.  
 Claud. 6. *trine*, by inableing them to work *miracles* of several kinds.<sup>a</sup> And,  
 Book III. though the *unbelieving jews* were active, and with great malice stirr-  
 Ch. II. ed up as many of the *gentiles*, as they could influence; yet the  
 Sect. V. people of the city were divided; some takeing part with the *unbe-*  
 Acts xiv. *lieving jews*; and others with the *christians*, and the two APOSTLES.  
 3, &c. Which kept off the persecution, for some time longer. And, at last,  
 when that party of the *jews* and *gentiles*, who were against them,  
 had conspired together, and prevailed, upon the magistrates of the  
 city, to use them in a base and cruel manner; and to stone them, as  
 blasphemers of the *law of Moses*<sup>b</sup>; the two APOSTLES got informa-  
 tion of the violent attempt, that was going to be made; and fled,  
 first to *Derbe*, and afterwards to *Lystra*,<sup>c</sup> two other cities, or towns,  
 of *Lycaonia*; <sup>d</sup> and to other places in the neighborhood. And there,  
 also, they preached the *gospel*; 'till the people were astonished, and  
 much affected with their doctrine.<sup>e</sup> For GOD often bringeth this  
 good out of evil, to spread the *gospel*, by the persecution raised  
 against such as preach it.

Ver. 3. <sup>a</sup> I apprehend that verse the 2d should be read in a parenthesis. For the  
 connection of these three verses seems to be this, "As many of the *jews* and *gentiles*  
 "believed, (though the *unbelieving jews* exasperated others of the *gentiles* against  
 "them) therefore they tarried there a long time, &c." [See ver. 4.]

Ver. 5. <sup>b</sup> Deut. xiii, 6. &c.

Ver. 6. <sup>c</sup> Matt. x. 23.

<sup>d</sup> Some reckon them cities of *Isauria*, the neighboring province. I suppose St.  
*Luke* knew that they then belonged to *Lycaonia*. But towns upon the borders of two  
 provinces were sometimes taken into the one, and sometimes into the other.

Ver. 7. <sup>e</sup> See the different readings of the *manuscripts* and *versions*, mentioned  
 by Dr. *Mill*.



CHAP. II. SECT. VI.

*The lame man at Lystra miraculously cured. The heathens would have sacrificed to the two APOSTLES, as two gods. The APOSTLES with difficulty restrain them, and preach the gospel to them. Acts xiv. 8, — 18.*

AT Lystra, there happened the following remarkable occurrence. St. PAUL was preaching to a multitude of the inhabitants of that city, who were most of them *idolatrous gentiles*. And, among the rest of his hearers, there sat a man, who had been lame from his birth; and so impotent in his feet, that he had never been able to walk. This man gave great attention to the APOSTLE'S discourse. And St. PAUL, looking intently upon him; and, (by the gift of *discerning the secret thoughts of men*) perceiving that he had faith sufficient to receive the cure; he instantaneously, and miraculously, healed him. Just as St. PETER, the great APOSTLE of the *circumcision*, cured the man, at the beautiful gate of the temple, who had likewise been lame from his birth. For, as soon as ever St. PAUL had said, with a loud voice, "In the name of JESUS CHRIST, I command you, and give you power, to stand upright, upon your feet;" the man tried to do so, and found himself, at once, strong and sound. And immediately, before all the people, he leaped up, and walked. And, when the people saw what a miraculous and instantaneous cure the APOSTLE had worked, they shouted aloud, in a kind of extasie and surprize; and, in the *Lycaonian*, or *Cappadocian*, language, (which many take to have been a *dialect* of the greek) they said: "The gods are come down to us, (as we have heard they do sometimes) in the shape and appearance of men." And they called BARNABAS *Jove*; who was their *chief god*: very probably, because BARNABAS had a better presence, and a more grand and majestic appearance. And, because PAUL was the chief speaker, they called him *Mercury*; whom the *heathens* have represented as the god of eloquence, or as the messenger of the superior gods; and, particularly,

An. Christi  
46.  
Claud. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect. VI.  
Acts xiv.  
8, &c.

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F

ly,

Ver. 10. \* See the manuscripts and versions, mentioned by Beza and Dr. Mill.



An. Christi 46.  
 Claud. 6.  
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 Ch. II.  
 Sect. VI.  
 Acts xiv.  
 12, &c.

ly, of *Jove*; and the interpreter of his mind and will. For *Jove* was thought to carry *Mercury* along with him, when he appeared, upon earth, in an human shape. The image of *Jove* stood before one of the gates of *Lystra*. For they looked upon that *god*, as the peculiar guardian and protector of their city. And, upon this miracle, the priest of *Jove*, and with him a great multitude of people, brought oxen crowned with garlands, to the gates of the house, where PAUL and BARNABAS lodged; and were going to sacrifice the oxen to the two APOSTLES; as they used to do to their *deities*.<sup>b</sup> But PAUL and BARNABAS (far from receiveing such homage, with pleasure and elation of mind; as king *Herod* did the blasphemous applauses of the people, upon a far lesse occasion) ran, with great zeale, in among them; and, as unable to bear the very mention of such a thing, without horror and concern, they rent their cloathes, (by which the *eastern nations* used to show their grief, or indignation,) and with great earnestnesse spoke to them, to this effect: "Alas! we designed no such thing; but had quite other views, than setting up ourselves to be worshiped. For we are onely frail and mortal men, like yourselves; liable to the evils and afflictions of life, and subject to death, as well as other men."<sup>c</sup> We neither claim, nor deserve, any such homage. On the contrary, our businesse and errand unto you, at this time, is, to persuade you to turn from these vanities, these lifelesse idols, unto the liveing and true GOD: that one GOD, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all things that are therein. Who, for many ages, hath left all nations (except the *jews*) to the light of nature alone; to use, or abuse it, as they were disposed.<sup>d</sup> Neverthelesse, they are culpable, for their idolatry, and other abuses of the light afforded them; in as much as the works of creation always manifest the being of the true GOD. And it is a plane evidence of his goodnesse, power, and providence; in that he, the one true GOD, is the author of all good; and sendeth rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, to the just and unjust; not onely

Ver. 13. <sup>b</sup> See *Grotius* on this place, who thought that the two apostles were to be crowned with the garlands. But that it was usual to put garlands upon the heads of the victims, see *Lucian de sacrificiis*, p. 368. ἀλλ' οἷγε θύοιτες, στεφανώσαντες τὸ ζῶον... προσάγει τῷ βωμῷ. Others, therefore, have thought that the oxen were already crowned with the garlands; or were to be so crowned. [See *Wolffius* and *Doughtæus* in loc.]

Ver. 15. <sup>c</sup> Not men of like passions, or as wicked, lustful, and passionate, as you are. [See on *James* v. 17.]

Ver. 16. <sup>d</sup> No prophet (except *Jonah*) seems to have been sent to the gentile world, from the days of *Noah*, or *Abraham*. 1 Pet. iii. 20. Acts vii. 2, 3.



## Timothy's conversion.

43

“ onely provideing necessities for mankind, but filling their hearts with  
 “ joy and gladnesse ; and thereby inviteing siners to repent, and hope  
 “ for mercy.” And, with all these arguments, they could scarce re-  
 strain the people from sacrificeing to them. — This remarkable  
 humility, in so uncommon an instance of popular applause, plainly  
 showed by what *spirit* they were acted.

An. Christi  
 46.  
 Claud. 6.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. II.  
 Sect. VI.  
 Acts xiv.

It appeareth to have been, in this city of *Lystra*, and at this time,  
 of the APOSTLE's being there, that *Lois*, *Eunice*, and *Timothy*,  
 were converted to the *christian faith*. For St. PAUL calleth *Timothy*,  
*his own convert*, or *son*, in the christian faith. [1 Tim. i. 2.] Some  
 have thought that *Timothy's* parents came from *Thessalonica* ; because  
 he is reckoned among the messengers of the church of the *Thessalo-*  
*nians*. [Acts xx. 4.] However ; he appeareth to have been a native  
 of *Lystra* ; and to have been converted, there, at this time. For,  
 when they came hither again, [Acts xiv. 21, 22.] they onely con-  
 firmed the *disciples*, whom they had already made. And, the next  
 time of St. PAUL's coming to *Lystra*, [Acts xvi. 1, &c.] it is inti-  
 mated that *Timothy* had distinguished himself among the *christians*.  
 And, consequently, had been converted, some time before. But, if  
*Timothy* was now converted, it is highly probable that he had not  
 as yet, any of the *gifts* of the *holy spirit*, or any *miraculous powers*,  
 imparted to him, by the laying on of the hands of the APOSTLES.  
 They did, indeed, usually impart the *holy spirit* to all adult converts,  
 immediately after *baptism*. But *Timothy* seemeth now to have been  
 some years under twenty. And, therefore, he could not yet be  
 reckoned among the *adult*.

17, 18.



## C H A P. II. S E C T. VII.

*The unbelieving jews, from Antioch and Iconium, follow them to Lystra; and incite the people to stone St. PAUL. When they had left him for dead, he recovered; and went to Derbe, where he preached with good successe. Acts xiv. 19, 20, 21.*

An. Christi  
46.  
Claud. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect. VII.  
Acts xiv.  
19, &c.

W H E N the two APOSTLES had continued, some longer time, preaching the *christian doctrine*, at *Lystra*. the malicious jews, their most constant enemies, followed them from *Antioch* and *Iconium*; and incensing the populace against them, as impostors, and ill-designing men,<sup>a</sup> they prevailed with them to stone St. PAUL; (upon the same account, as he himself had formerly consented to the stoning of St. STEPHEN.) And, when they had (not in a legal, but merely tumultuous, manner) stoned him, they draged him out of the city, as thinking that he was quite dead. To this, very probably, the APOSTLE alludeth, [2 Cor. xi. 23; 25.] when he saith, that he had been *in deaths often*; and that *once he had been stoned*.

So short-lived are human passions, not moderated by reason and principle; that, from imagining him to be *a god*, that thoughtless multitude were easily persuaded to stone St. PAUL, as one of the vilest of men. Thus *Israel* fell into *idolatry*, within forty days from GOD's giving them the *law*, from *mount Sinai*; and soon broke the promises, which fear and precipitant zeal had drawn from them. Nor could St. PAUL expect any better treatment; if he considered, that HIS LORD AND MASTER was applauded, as *king of the jews*, and followed with the acclamations of the same multitude, which, about six days after, petitioned *Pilate* that he might be crucified; and followed him, up *mount Cavalry*, as a *malefactor*, to suffer that death, which they had desired the *roman procurator* to inflict upon him. But, though PAUL's enemies left him for dead, yet the *christians* would not leave him; but stayed with the body, to receive him with joy, if he recovered; or to bury him, if he was actually dead.

Ver. 19. <sup>a</sup> See the *manuscripts* mentioned by *Beza* and *Dr. Mill*.



dead. And, while they were standing round about him, with much anxiety; he, to their unspeakable joy, revived, [by a miracle, as many think,] and got up, and went privately with them, into the city. And, the next day, he departed, with BARNABAS, to *Derbe*, another neighboring town, or city; where, with all his bruises and sores about him, he began, with his wonted vigor and fortitude, to preach *christianity*. And there, also, he made several converts. To his treatment, in those places, and at this time of his being there, doeth St. PAUL most evidently allude, [2 *Tim.* iii. 10, 11.] where he saith to *Timothy*; “ You have fully known — the persecutions and afflictions, which beset me, at *Antioch*, at *Iconium*, and “ at *Lysra*; what [or how great] things I there indured. But, out “ of them all, the LORD hath delivered me.” As *Timothy* was a *Lysrian*, he had been, very probably, an eye-witnesse of the sufferings of St. PAUL, in that place; and (particularly) one of them, who stood by, when the APOSTLE revived, after he was stoned, and left for dead.

An. Christi  
47.  
Claud. 7.  
Book III.  
Ch. II.  
Sect.  
VII.  
Acts xiv.  
20.

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C H A P. II. S E C T. VIII.

*The APOSTLES returned to Antioch in Syria, by the way, which they had gone from thence; and ordained elders, in every church, as they passed along. Acts xiv. 21, to the end of that chapter.*

W H E N they had preached the *gospel*, and made several converts at *Derbe*, they went no farther into the country; but returned back, the way they came; namely, through *Lysra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* in *Pisidia*; visiting the several churches; and establishing the converts, which they had made before; exhorting them, by all means, to persevere in the *christian faith*; notwithstanding the evil treatment, which they [the APOSTLES] met with; and the discouragements, which they themselves had hitherto labored under. And warning them not to expect, at that time, the happy kingdom of the *messiah*, which the *jews* promised themselves; but rather to expect



An. Christi expect (as things then stood) that, through much tribulation,<sup>a</sup> both  
 47. they and their instructors must travel heaven-wards; as the antient  
 Claud. 7. *Israelites* travelled, through the wilderness, into *Canaan*.  
 Book III. Upon their first planting churches, in those cities, there is no men-  
 Ch. II. tion made, of their ordaining bishops, and deacons; to præside over  
 Sect. them, and manage their public affairs. But now, when they had  
 VIII. made some progresse in christianity: and some of them had distinguish-  
 Acts xiv. ed themselves from others, by their zeale and diligence; the APOSTLES  
 22, &c. returned, and ordained<sup>b</sup> some of their elders, or most early and wisest  
 converts, in every church, to be their bishops; that they might instruct  
 the ignorant, strengthen the weak, comfort the dejected, and præside  
 in their public and religious assemblies. And others of them, to be  
 deacons; to take care of the poor, the fatherlesse, and the widows;  
 and of such persons, as travelled about, to preach the gospel. And  
 the two APOSTLES, haveing appointed the particular persons, they  
 recommended them to the LORD JESUS, (in whom they had be-  
 lieved) for his blessing, by fasting and prayer; accompanied (most  
 probably) with the laying on of their hands. For that was the usual  
 method of ordaining bishops and deacons. And, returning through  
 the rest of *Pisidia*, they came again to *Pamphilia*; and particularly  
 to *Perga*, where they now preach the christian doctrine; I suppose,  
 to the idolatrous gentiles. For there is no intimation of there being  
 any jewish synagogue, or *proseucha*, in that place. After some stay  
 at *Perga*, they went down to *Attalia*; and preached the gospel there,  
 also.<sup>c</sup> And then they took ship, and sailed, from *Attalia*, to *An-  
 tiocb* in *Syria*. From which place, they had been sent out, after they  
 had been recommended to the divine blessing, for the work, which  
 they had now fulfilled. For that was regarded, as the mother-church  
 of the gentile churches. When they had gathered the church of  
*Antioch* together, they (as persons, who had been sent out, from  
 thence) related, very particularly, what miraculous and extraordinary  
 things

Ver. 22. <sup>a</sup> Matt. v. 10, 11, 12. and xvi. 24, 25. Rom. viii. 17. 2 Tim.  
 iii. 12.

Ver. 23. <sup>b</sup> Though *χειροτονέω* was originally used, by the greeks, in a peculiar  
 sense; namely, to stretch out, or lift up, the hand; as the people did, when they gave  
 their votes, in popular elections: yet it came, in time, to be used in a laxer sense;  
 and to signifie nothing more, than barely to appoint, or constitute. For it is used, by  
 several greek authors, concerning one person's appointing another to an office; as Dr.  
*Hammond*, on this place, has abundantly shown. [See *Acts* x. 41. *Lucian's Philopa-  
 tris*, p. 589. and *Philopseudes*, p. 334. See, also, *Wolffius in loc.*] And here it is  
 prædicated of the two APOSTLES; and not of the people.

Ver. 25. <sup>c</sup> See the reading in the *Cambridge manuscript*; in Dr. *Mill*.



things GOD had done, by them; and, eſpecially, that, by *their mi- niſtry*, he had opened the door of faith to the *idolatrous gentiles*.

An. Chriſti.

48.

Claud. 8.

This was *their firſt Apoſtolic journey*; which was through *Cyprus, Pamphilia, Piſidia, and Lycaonia*: and ended, as it began, at *Antioch in Syria*.

Book III.

Ch. II.

Sect.

VIII.

There PAUL and BARNABAS tarried with the *chriſtians*, for ſome conſiderable time; farther inſtructing and eſta bliſhing them in the *chriſtian religion*; rectifying diſorders, and making up what was deficient; and, in one word, doing every thing, which they could, that might conduce to the growth and increaſe of the *gospel*.

Acts xiv.

27, &c.

### C H A P. III.

*Containing an account of the controverſie concerning the devout gentiles; namely, "Whether they ſhould, upon imbraceing chriſtianity, become ſub- ject to circumciſion, and the whole law of Mo- ſes?" Acts xv. 1, — 34.*

#### S E C T. I.

*The jewiſh converts would have had the chriſtians, that had been devout gentiles, to have become proſelytes of righteouſneſſe; as abſo- lutely neceſſary to their ſalvation. Acts xv. 1.*

W H O E V E R would have a clear and comprehensive view of *this hiſtory*, muſt always bear in his mind the grand diſ- tinction of the three ſorts of perſons, to whom the *gospel* was at firſt preached; namely, *jews, devout gentiles, and idolatrous gentiles*. They, each of them, held themſelves to be under different obliga- tions, both as to *polity, and religion*; antecedent to their imbraceing *chriſtianity*. But, after their imbraceing the *gospel*, it was to be, to all of them, their *religious law*; and the ſole method of their juſtifi- cation, or acceptance with GOD. Though it made no alteration as to their *national, or political, duties, or privileges*. In the præcedeing *book*, it hath been ſhown, at large, what was the difference, between  
a profe-



An. Chriſti 48. a *profelyte of righteousneſſe*, and a *profelyte of the gate*. And, parti-  
 Claud. 8. cularly, that the latter were ſuch, as were deſcended of *gentile* pa-  
 Book III. rents, and continued *uncircumciſed*. But they were diſtinguiſhed,  
 Ch. III. from the *idolatrous gentiles*, by their haveing renounced *idolatry* and  
 Sect. I. worſhiping the *one true GOD*. Otherwiſe, indeed, they could not  
 Acts xv. have been permitted to live in *Judæa*, where *idolatry* was high-trea-  
 I. ſon, and puniſhable with death. But, beſides their obligations to  
 things of an eternal, unalterable, nature; and the neceſſary laws of  
 civil ſociety; they were alſo obliged, by the *law of Moſes*, to ſome  
 things peculiar to the *jewiſh polity*: that is, “ They were carefully to  
 “ abſtain from whatever was likely to tempt them to forſake the *true*  
 “ GOD, or would have made them look like *idolators*. And, to that  
 “ end, they were particularly prohibited to eat, or drink, *things of-*  
 “ *fered to idols*; or the *blood* of any animal; either pure, or mixed  
 “ with any thing elſe. They were, alſo, to abſtain from eating the  
 “ *fleſh* of ſuch animals, as were *ſtrangled*, with a deſign to keep the  
 “ *blood* in them; and from all ſorts of *impurity*. The particulars of  
 “ which are enumerated, *Lev. xviii.*” That theſe things were pro-  
 hibited to the *profelytes of the gate*, *Lev. xvii, xviii.* hath been  
 largely ſhown above, *Book ii. chap. i. ſect. i.* To which I would  
 refer the reader, without repeteing what hath been ſaid already.

Upon a conformity to ſuch parts of the *law of Moſes*, the *profe-*  
*lytes of the gate* had ſeveral privileges, of a *civil nature*, among the  
*jews*: as well as liberty to join in all ſuch acts of *religious worſhip*, as  
 were not peculiar to the *jews*; but uſed among the *patriarchs*, before  
 the giving of the *law of Moſes*. However; the *profelytes of the*  
*gate* were not admitted to equal privileges with the *jews*, and *profelytes*  
*of righteousneſſe*, antecedent to the revelation of the *gospel*. When,  
 therefore, the news of St. PETER’s haveing converted *Cornelius*, and  
 his company, who were *uncircumciſed profelytes*, had reached *Jeruſa-*  
*lem*, it alarmed the *jewiſh converts*; and they chid that APOSTLE, for  
 receiveing them into full communion with the *chriſtian church*, and  
 makeing them equal to the *jewiſh converts*, without haveing firſt re-  
 quired of them to become *profelytes of righteousneſſe*. The APOSTLE  
 did, indeed, ſilence them, at that time; by recounting the ſeveral  
 ſteps, which GOD had taken, to convince him, that it was his duty  
 to go and preach the *gospel*, among them; and to put no difference  
 between them and the *jews*. And they, upon hearing St. PETER’s  
*apologie*, then acquieſced. But the *controverſie* now broke out again;  
 and gave the APOSTLES, and more eſpecially PAUL and BARNABAS,  
 no ſmall trouble. For, though the *gentiles*, who had been *pro-*  
*ſelytes*



*profelytes of the gate*, had not been required, upon their *conversion* to *christianity*, to observe any more of the *law of Moses*, than they were obliged to, antecedent to their reception of the *gospel*; nor had PAUL and BARNABAS, the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles*, since that, required any such thing of them; yet some of the *jewish converts* went out,<sup>a</sup> from *Jerusalem*, to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and taught the *gentile christians*, that the *gospel* alone, and of itself, was insufficient; and that, unless they would be *circumcised*, and conform to the *whole law of Moses*,<sup>b</sup> they could not be saved. Nay; to procure the greater regard to that their imposing *doctrine*, they pretended that they were sent out, by the APOSTLES, who were the great fountains of *christian knowledge*; and that they had ordered them to carry that message among the *gentile converts*.

It appeareth, from several expressions in the writings of the *jews*, and from two famous instances recorded by *Josephus*,<sup>c</sup> that, though the more moderate *jews* thought the *uncircumcised profelytes* might be saved; yet the more warm and zealous *jews*, who were, by much, the most numerous, had very little, or no, charity for an *uncircumcised profelyte*;<sup>d</sup> and insisted upon the necessity of their being *circumcised*, and complying with the *whole law of Moses*, in order to full communion with the *church of GOD* here, and to salvation and happiness hereafter. Such of the *jews*, as had imbraced *christianity*, were, generally speaking, of the latter opinion. And it was a great while, before the benevolence of the *christian religion* could sufficiently sweeten their tempers, so as to conquer those narrow notions, and old prejudices.

Ver. 1. <sup>a</sup> Ἐξελθόντες, according to two of the antient mss. [See Dr. Mill. See, also, the note on 1 John ii. 19.]

<sup>b</sup> See two manuscripts, mentioned by Dr. Mill.

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. Jud. l. 20. c. 2. § 5. In Vita Joseph. § 23; 31.

<sup>d</sup> It was a common maxim among the *jews*, "That all uncircumcised persons go to hell," Vid. P. Eliezer, c. 29. p. 66. laudat. a Whitby in loc.



## C H A P. III. S E C T. II.

PAUL and BARNABAS were sent to Jerusalem, by the christians at Antioch, to consult the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, concerning that question. They passe through Phœnicia, and Samaria. PAUL had, also, a revelation to go up to Jerusalem. He taketh Titus along with him. Acts xv. 2, 3.

An. Christi 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. II. Acts xv. 2. THE controversy grew, at last, to a great height; and gave no small disturbance to PAUL and BARNABAS, the two APOSTLES of the gentile world; who had received idolatrous gentiles, into the christian church, without any submission to the law of Moses; and who clearly understood that the gospel altered nothing in men's civil rights, or duties. They, therefore, endeavored to put an early stop to this imposition, by arguing with such as pleaded for it; and showing them, how GOD had received the gentile converts, without requiring them to submit to the whole law of Moses; and had given them spiritual gifts, and miraculous powers, as clear evidences of his accepting of them, equally with the jewish christians, though they were not circumcised. But all, that they could say, could not silence them; or quench the flame, which they had raised. It was therefore agreed, that PAUL and BARNABAS, and some of the christians of Antioch, should go up to Jerusalem, to have the opinion of the APOSTLES and elders there, concerning the matter in dispute. Not that they were to send for all the twelve APOSTLES of the circumcision, where-ever dispersed; in order to make an œcumenical council, or general synod: but they were to take the advice of such of them, as were already upon the spot. And PAUL, in particular, besides his being sent, by the church of Antioch, had likewise a revelation; by which, GOD ordered him to go to Jerusalem, at this time, along with BARNABAS. And now it was, that he took Titus, also, along with him. [Gal ii. 1, 2.] Titus was, very probably, a native of Antioch in Syria; and one of the devout gentiles, who had been converted there, by BARNABAS and SAUL, about the year of OUR LORD 42. For, as he now went to Jerusalem, to consult the APOSTLES and elders, concerning the liberty of the gentile



gentile converts; we cannot suppose that he was a novice, or one that had been lately converted. He is expressly called a gentile; [*Ἕλλην*, <sup>49.</sup> Claud. 9. *Gal. ii. 3.*] and St. PAUL's genuine son, according to the common faith. [*Tit. i. 4.*] And, as he went up to Jerusalem, from the church at Antioch; there is no reason to think that he was an idolatrous gentile. For that church, at Antioch, seemeth to have consisted intirely of converts from among the devout gentiles. There is, indeed, a brief intimation, [*Acts xi. 19.*] that the jews had been preached to, in that city. But there is no hint of their imbraceing christianity; nor one word, in the scriptures, of the idolatrous gentiles being preached to, or converted, in that place. And then, the affair, which he went upon, is another proof, that he was a devout gentile. For, concerning them, the dispute was; about which the APOSTLES, and elders, at Jerusalem, were to be consulted. And, possibly, Titus might be sent thither, by the church of Antioch; as well as go at the request of St. PAUL. But, what appeareth to me of great moment, to determine it, that Titus was a devout gentile, is, that the conversion of the idolatrous gentiles was, as yet, unknown to the church at Jerusalem; and St. PAUL was, with good reason, desirous to keep it secret. Which he could not well have done, if he had carried, along with him, a convert from among the idolatrous gentiles.

PAUL and BARNABAS, together with Titus, and the other messengers of the church, being sent out, by the christians of Antioch, (probably at their charge) and respectfully conducted, by some of them, part of the journey; they went up to Jerusalem, through Phœnicia and Samaria; declaring to the christians, as they went along, that they had made a numerous conversion of the gentiles. At which they, all of them, greatly rejoiced. So much had they of the true christian spirit!



## C H A P. III. S E C T. III.

*They were kindly received by the church at Jerusalem. But the false brethren, creeping in, made St. PAUL keep upon the reserve. He communicated the gospel, which he had preached to the idolatrous gentiles, onely to JAMES, PETER, and JOHN: and would not suffer Titus to be circumcised. The APOSTLES of the circumcision gave to him and BARNABAS the right-hand of fellowship. Acts xv. 4. Gal. ii. 1, &c.*

An. Christi  
49.  
Claud. 9.  
Book III.  
Ch. III.  
Sect. III.  
Acts xv.  
4.

W H E N they arrived at *Jerusalem*, they were very kindly received, by the APOSTLES, and *elders*; as well as by the large church there. And, when they had met them in a body, they declared what great things GOD had done, by their ministry; in that they had converted several of the *jews*, in distant countries; and added, to them, a number of the *gentiles*. But they, not specifying, particularly, what sort of *gentiles* they had converted; and the *jewish christians*, at *Jerusalem*, not expecting the conversion of any, but *devout gentiles*; and knowing, likewise, that in most, or all, of the places, where the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles* had been, there were *synagogues*, and *profelytes of the gate*; they appear not to have understood any thing, that these two APOSTLES had said, to refer to the conversion of the *idolatrous gentiles*. What St. PAUL himself hath said, [*Gal. ii. 2, &c.*] is a strong confirmation of this: *namely*, That "he communicated, what he had preached to the *gentiles*, "onely to JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, the three most renowned "APOSTLES of the *circumcision*; and that under the seal of the greatest secrecy." Whereas; the whole church at *Jerusalem* knew of the conversion of the *devout gentiles*; and what gospel had been preached unto them; ever since the reception of *Cornelius*, and his friends. But, if they had now been made acquainted with the calling in of the *idolatrous gentiles*; there would have been such an astonishment and joy in some, and such zeale and resentment in others, as the *sacred historian* would not have failed to have taken notice of: — as he has done, of the effects of the first news, which they received, concerning the conversion



version of the *devout gentiles*; [Acts xi. 1; 18.] which was a lesse remarkable event; and of the effects, which the knowlege of this produced, when it was (*long after*) communicated to them. [Acts xxi. 18, 19, 20.] The reason of St. PAUL's now communicateing the *gospel*, which he preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, onely to the three APOSTLES; and to them so very secretly; was; lest the *zeleots* among the *jewish christians* should have come to the knowlege of it; and so have destroyed what he had done, and frustrated all his labors. For he observed that some *false brethren* had crept in, unawares, among the *christians*, who were then come up to *Jerusalem*; maliciously to spy out the liberty, which *christianity* had granted to the *devout gentiles*; in order to bring them into bondage to the *law of Moses*. And, if they had got any hint of the conversion of *idolatrous gentiles*, and of their intire freedom from *that law*; their zeale would, the more warmly, have incited them to have run, up and down, among the *churches* of St. PAUL's planting, to undo what that great APOSTLE of the *gentiles* had been doing, for some time. He knew the *spirit* of the men. And, therefore, very prudently, kept upon the reserve; and concealed, from them, such truths, as they would have made a bad use of. But that was not all. For he publicly opposed them. And, when they would have compelled *Titus*, a *gentile convert*, to have been *circumcised*, and brought under bondage to the whole *Mosaic law*; he would not, by any means, suffer such an imposition; nor yield to them, for one single hour: that he might preserve the liberty of all the *gentile converts*; or their freedom from *circumcision*, and the burthen of the *Mosaic law*. For, if St. PAUL had acknowledged it necessary, that the *christians*, who had been *devout gentiles*, should be *circumcised*; the necessity of *circumcision* to all the *christians*, who had formerly been *uncircumcised gentiles*, would have been established. And the *judaizeing zeleots* would readily have transfered it, from such as had been *devout*, to such as had been *idolatrous, gentiles*; as soon as they should have come to know of the conversion of any such. Which would have made *circumcision*, and an intire subjection to the *law of Moses*, look like one of the *terms*, on which the *gentile christians* were to obtain justification, and eternal life. Whereas; that was not one of the *terms of acceptance*; either to the *jewish, or gentile, converts*. For the *gospel* was the *perfect law of liberty*, which freed them from that yoke of bondage.

JAMES,

An. Christi;  
49.  
Claud. 9.  
Book III.  
Ch. I.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xv.



An. Christi  
49.  
Claud. 9.  
Book III.  
Ch. III.  
Sect. III.  
Acts xv.  
4.

The se-  
cond pe-  
riod of the  
conversion  
of the  
idola-  
trous gen-  
tiles; or  
the peri-  
od, in  
which it  
was

known to  
none of  
the chris-  
tian

church at  
Jerusa-  
lem,  
except  
JAMES,  
PETER,  
and  
JOHN,  
that the  
gospel was  
preached  
to the  
idolatrous  
gentiles.

That is,  
From the  
year of  
CHRIST  
49, to the  
year 58.

JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, who were the three APOSTLES of chief repute among those of the *circumcision*, had a great deal of conversation with PAUL and BARNABAS. And, when they compared the *revelations*, which GOD had made to them, with those made to the APOSTLES of the *uncircumcision*, they could add nothing to what they had already received from heaven; either of *knowledge*, or *miraculous powers*. But, being convinced, by all the distinguishing *gifts* and *powers*, which had been conferred upon them, that the *apostolate* of the *gentiles* was committed to PAUL and BARNABAS; and that they had as clear *revelations*, as full *miraculous* evidence, and as remarkable *successes*, among the *uncircumcision*, as they had, among those of the *circumcision*; they gave, unto PAUL and BARNABAS, the right-hand of fellowship: *that is*, they acknowledged them to be *brother-apostles*; sent unto the *beathen* world, as they were to the *jews*.

And they requested, that they would make a collection, among the *gentile churches*, for the use of the *jewish converts*; especially those of *Judæa*. To which, PAUL and BARNABAS readily consented. For PAUL had, of himself, designed to do so; before they made any such proposel.

### C H A P. III. S E C T. IV.

The APOSTLES, ELDERS, and BRETHREN, met about the question. After a free debate, they agreed to send a letter to the christians, who had been uncircumcised profelytes; wherein they insisted upon their observeing onely what parts of the law of Moses they had been formerly obliged to observe, as they were profelytes of the gate. Acts xv. 5, — 29.

PAUL and BARNABAS seem to have had several meetings, with a number of the *jewish christians*, at *Jerusalem*; as well as frequent conversation, with many of them, in private; to satisfy them of the reasonableness of the *gentile christians* continueing free from such a sub-



a subjection to the whole *law of Moses*. But, for all, that these two APOSTLES of the *gentiles* could say, they could not convince *them*; any more than such, as had opposed them, at *Antioch*. Perhaps the warm *jewish converts*, at *Jerusalem*, might look upon them with a sort of jealousy; as the chief authors, and promoters, of the *liberty* of the *gentile christians*. But, whatever sentiments they entertained of PAUL and BARNABAS; some of the *christians*, who had been formerly of the sect of the *pharisees*, (and consequently zealous for the *law*) rose up, even at *Jerusalem*; <sup>a</sup> and affirmed, that it was absolutely *necessary* that such *gentiles*, as had imbraced *christianity*, should be *circumcised*, and charged to observe the whole *law of Moses*. And, when nothing else could put an end to the controversy; the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, met together in a body, to consider of the matter. And, when they had disputed a long time, St. PETER cut short the debate, with a speech to this effect. “My christian brethren: You know very well, that some years ago, among us, APOSTLES, GOD chose me, that I should begin to preach the gospel among the *gentiles*; and first make converts among them: As I also did, in the memorable case of *Cornelius*, and his friends. And the great GOD, who knoweth the secrets of all hearts, and can easily distinguish the sincere and virtuous, from the wicked and hypocritical, did bear them witness, that they were as acceptable to him, as the *jewish converts*; by his giving them the *holy spirit*, immediately from heaven, and without the laying on of the hands of any man; as he did unto us, on the signal day of *pentecost*. And he put no manner of difference between us *jews*, and *them*; though they were *uncircumcised gentiles*: but made them clean; purifying their hearts by the doctrine of the gospel; and baptizing them with the *holy spirit*, accompanied with the appearance of a flame of fire. Seeing, therefore, my way was plain; and GOD gave such  
“ clear

Ver. 5. <sup>a</sup> Some have taken this verse to be a continuation of the speech of Paul and Barnabas. And then it would not lead us to conclude that a new dissension broke out, at *Jerusalem*, at this time. When the ellipsis is supplied, this text would then run thus. “And they declared what things GOD had done, by them. But [as they proceeded to relate] there arose certain of the sect of the *pharisees*, [that is, at *Antioch*,] who said that we must circumcise them, [the *gentile converts*,] and command them to keep the *law of Moses*.” St. Luke has, indeed, as most writers do, made use of ellipses, sometimes; and altered, from an oblique, to a direct, speech; and vice versa. [See Luke vii. 4, 5.] But, I must confesse, I look upon this fifth verse as St. Luke’s narration; and not as any part of the speech of Paul and Barnabas, and am persuaded that the *christians*, of the sect of the *pharisees*, at *Jerusalem*, would be as apt to show their zeal for bringing the *gentile converts* into subjection to the law; as those at *Antioch*, or any other place. [Vid. Wolf. in loc.]

An. Christi  
49.  
Claud. 9.  
Book III.  
Ch. III.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xv.  
5. &c.



An. Christi 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. IV. Acts xv. 9, &c.

“ clear proofs of his readinesse to receive them, into the *christian church*; and to full communion with us, who had believed and imbraced the *gospel*, before them; and that, without their first submitting to the whole *law of Moses*; why would you offer to teach GOD, or direct him what to do? Dare you call in question the proceedings of *infinite wisdom*? Or do you envy their happiness, and their liberty; in that you go to put a yoke upon their necks, which neither our fathers, nor we, have been able to bear? No! you ought not, certainly, to do any such thing. For, I am fully satisfied, that these *gentile converts*, without any farther subjection to the *law of Moses*, will, through the favor of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, be saved; as well as those *jewish brethren*, who are so zealous for the observation of *that law*.”

This speech silenced all the multitude. And the *zeleots* had nothing to reply to such clear and convinceing arguments. The whole body of the assembly, therefore, were then disposed, patiently to attend to what PAUL and BARNABAS thought fit to communicate to them, concerning the wonders and *miracles*, which GOD had inabled them to do, among the *gentiles*; which was a plane confirmation, that GOD had sent them, and approved of their attempt to convert such persons; though they were not *circumcised*, nor subject to the burthen of the *Mosaic law*.

The silence being renewed, the APOSTLE JAMES made a speech; and, in the following manner, summed up the debate, and formed the *question*. To which, they all unanimously agreed. “ *My christian brethren*, (saith he) permit me to speak my sentiments of this matter. SIMON PETER hath just now declared, how GOD, at first, vouchsafed, by him, to take the GENTILES into the number of his people. But this accepting of the *gentiles* is no such strange, and unheard of, thing; as you may imagine. For GOD designed it, long before he sent PETER to *Cornelius*. And, I remember that some of the *antient prophets* have prophesied to this effect: particularly *Amos*, [chap. ix. 11, 12.] *After these things, I will return*, (saith GOD) *and will build again the tabernacle* [or house] *of David*; and I will raise it from it's ruins; (by sending the *messiah*, out of that decayed family; and erecting his *spiritual kingdom*; into which, not onely my people, the *jews*, shall be admitted; but) *that the residue of men* <sup>b</sup> *might seek after the*

LORD:

Ver. 17. <sup>b</sup> It is in the *hebrew*, [the remnant of Edom,] one of the *nations*, that was the bitterest enemy to *Israel*, and a remnant of the most profligate and abandoned



“ LORD: *and, more especially, [the devout gentiles] the gentiles, up-* An. Christi  
 “ *on whom my name is called, saith the LORD; who bringeth to passe all* 49.  
 “ *these great and remarkable events.* Nor ought we, in the least, to Claud. 9.  
 “ wonder at GOD’s speaking thus, seven or eight hundred years ago; Book III.  
 “ though it refer to the present case. For, known unto him are Ch. III.  
 “ all his works, from the begining of the world. Seeing, there- Sect. IV.  
 “ fore, my brother, PETER, hath shown, so evidently, that he was Acts xv.  
 “ ordered, of GOD, to go and receive these *uncircumcised gentiles,* 17, &c.  
 “ into the *christian church,* without any farther subjection to the *law*  
 “ *of Moses.* And, seeing GOD (who knew the end from the begin-  
 “ ing) hath signified, several ages ago, that he intended such a thing.  
 “ It is, therefore, my opinion,<sup>e</sup> that you ought not to give these *gen-*  
 “ *tile converts* any farther trouble; but onely send them *a letter,* and  
 “ exhort them to abstain from those few things; (from which, as they  
 “ are *profelytes of the gate,* they are already obliged, by the *law of*  
 “ *Moses,* to abstain; ) *namely, from pollution of idols;* that is, from  
 “ any meat, or drink, devoted to *an idol;* or that had been offered,  
 “ before the image, in the *idol’s temple:* from *fornication,* or what-  
 “ ever is condemned, as, contrary to chastity, by the *law of Mo-*  
 “ *ses:* from eating the flesh of whatsoever is *strangled,*<sup>d</sup> with a de-  
 “ sign to keep the *blood* in it: and from *blood,* separated from  
 “ the flesh of any animal; either pure, or mixed with any thing  
 “ else.”

“ As these things tempted men to *idolatry;* were the usual con-  
 “ comitants of it, or made them look *idolators;*<sup>f</sup> they were justly  
 “ forbidden, in the *law of Moses,* unto all such as were permitted  
 “ to live under that *polity.* For that *polity* was designed to preserve  
 “ the *jewish nation* from so unreasonable, and so common, a wick-  
 “ ednesse, as *idolatry;* and to point out the knowlege and worship  
 “ of the *true GOD,* unto such of the *other nations,* as would at-  
 “ tend, Now, if the *devout gentiles* should not, after their con-  
 “ version to *christianity,* continue to abstain from these things, as for-  
 “ merly: the *jews* will not onely suspect them of *idolatry;* but they  
 VOL. II. H “ them-

ed *idolators.* And, if they were to be received; the *jews* might, consequently, ex-  
 pect that the other *gentiles* would much more be reconciled to the *true religion.*

Ver. 19. <sup>e</sup> Διὸ ἐγὼ κείμεν.

Ver. 20. <sup>d</sup> καὶ τὸ πνικτόν. [And from what is strangled.] See this reading vindicated, in Dr. Lardner’s *credibility of the gospel history*, part 2d. vol. 4. p. 780, &c. by Spencer, in his *dissertation on Acts. xv. 20.* chap. i. § 3. and by Wolfius in loc.

<sup>e</sup> As to the addition, in some copies, see on ver. 29.

<sup>f</sup> Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16. Numb. xxv. 1, 2, 3. 1 Cor. x. 7, 8; 21. Rev. ii. 14; 20. Wild. xiv. 22, — 27.



An. Christi 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. IV. Acts xv. 21, &c. “ themselves cannot clame those privileges among the *jews*, to which “ the *law of Moses* giveth them a right, as long as they continue to “ observe what it injoineth them. And it is highly fit, as long as the “ *law of Moses* is a *national law*, and binds such injunctions upon “ the *gentiles*, who are *profelytes of the gate*, that they should most “ carefully comply. For the *law of Moses* is (*according to an an-* “ *tient custom*) read, in the synagogues of the *jews*, and explained “ and inculcated, every *sabbath-day*. And there these *profelytes of* “ *the gate* attend, and hear that it is their duty to abstain from such “ things. And the *jews*, also, attend; and will be excedeingly “ disgusted, to hear the *law* read, which prohibiteth these things “ to the *profelytes of the gate*; if they should be released from such “ abstinences, and yet pretend to clame their usual rights and pri- “ vileges.”

When they had so thoroughly canvassed the matter, it was agreed, by all the APOSTLES, and elders, then present; (*that is*, by the three APOSTLES of the *circumcision*, JAMES, PETER, and JOHN; and the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles*, PAUL and BARNABAS; together with as many of the hundred and twenty, the APOSTLES company on the day of *pentecost*, as were then at *Jerusalem*; by whom I understand, the elders, here mentioned; they being some of the *oldest christians*, or the *first*, and *most early*, converts. It was agreed, I say, by all the APOSTLES, and elders, then present;) and the brethren, or the whole body of the *christian church*, at *Jerusalem*, approved of it; that some persons should be chosen, from among themselves; and sent, to *Antioch* in *Syria*, along with PAUL and BARNABAS, to certify, to the church there, that these were their unanimous and real sentiments; and not a determination procur- ed by the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles*. One of the persons, whom they chose, upon that occasion, was Judas; who was surnamed Barsabas. [As he had the same surname, some have thought him to have been brother to Joseph, called Barsabas; mentioned Acts i. 23. And then he was son to Alphæus, or Cleophas; and brother to two of the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*.] The other was Silas; who was also frequently called Silvanus, after he went, with St. PAUL, to preach among the *gentiles*. And that was his *roman*, as Silas was his *jewish*, name. For he appeareth to me to have been a *freeman of Rome*, as well as St. PAUL. These two were leading men among the *christian brethren*, in the church at *Jerusalem*; and very proper persons, to be sent upon so extraordinary an occasion.



*The letter to the devout gentile christians.*

59

An. Christi

*The LETTER, which the jewish church, at Jerusalem, sent to the gentile church, at Antioch; and to other gentile churches.*

49.  
Claud. 9.

Book III.

Ch. III.

Sect. IV.

Acts xv.

23, &c.

In the name of all the three ranks, or orders, of persons, who were in the church at Jerusalem, at that time, namely, [the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren,<sup>g</sup>] was the LETTER written. The contents whereof, were, to the following purpose. "The APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, of the christian church, at Jerusalem, send their love and salutation, and with all manner of happiness, to their christian brethren, who have been converted, from among the gentiles, [profelytes of the gate,] whether in Antioch, the metropolis; or in other parts of Syria; in the province of Cilicia; or wherever dispersed. For as much as we understand, that some went out, from among us, pretending to come, to you, in our name, and by our direction; and that they have made a disturbance among you, with their new doctrine; and subverted the souls of some of you, by affirming that you are obliged to be circumcised, and to observe the whole law of Moses; or else you cannot possibly be saved: — We thought fit to acquaint you, that we gave no such orders; and desire you for the future to beware of such deceivers. However; as this affair hath been so warmly agitated among you; and you have sent several persons, to know our sentiments; we have taken it into our consideration. And, in a full and unanimous assembly of APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, we have chosen proper persons, to send, as our messengers, back to you; along with our two beloved brethren, BARNABAS and PAUL;<sup>h</sup> (men, of such dignity in the christian church; and of such great sincerity; that you ought, by no means, to slight them, or think meanly of their knowledge, or skill in the christian doctrine. For they are) men, who not onely understand it; but they have hazarded their lives, in spreading the doctrine of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. If any should, in the least, doubt of their account of our proceedings, as apprehending them præjudiced, and præpos-

H 2

" have

Ver. 23. <sup>g</sup> See a different reading, *Millii prolegom*, 1350. namely, *the apostles, and elder brethren.*

Ver. 25. <sup>h</sup> Though St. LUKE hath, himself, generally named PAUL before BARNABAS, from the time that they were constituted APOSTLES; yet, in reciteing this letter, he is so punctual, as to place BARNABAS before PAUL: most probably, because they were so placed in the original letter itself.



An. Christi<sup>49.</sup> “ have sent, along with them, *Judas* and *Silas*; who will tell you,  
 Claud. 9. “ by word of mouth, the same things, which we have said, in *this*  
 Book III. “ letter. For we have strong vouchers; since it hath pleased the *holy*  
 Ch. III. “ spirit to signify his mind and will, so evidently, in this matter, by  
 Sect. IV. “ falling down upon *Cornelius*, and his friends, in like manner as he  
 Acts xv. “ did upon the most eminent *jewish converts*; and that, without their  
 27, &c. “ being first *circumcised*, and submitting to the *whole law of Moses*.  
 “ And it seemeth good unto us, also; amicably debateing *this ques-*  
 “ *tion*, and compareing antient *prophecies* with present, or late, facts.—  
 “ Thus did it formerly seem good to the *holy spirit*; and, upon such  
 “ accounts, doeth it now seem just and proper, in our opinion, to lay  
 “ upon you, no more of the *positive institutions* of the *law of Moses*,  
 “ nor any greater burthen, than those things, which *that law* hath in-  
 “ joined upon you, as long as you live under it, and clame the privi-  
 “ leges of *profelytes of the gate*: namely, *That you abstain from such*  
 “ *meats, and drinks, as have been offered unto idols: from blood, sepa-*  
 “ *rated from the flesh of any animal: from eating such creatures, as*  
 “ *have been strangled, with a design to keep the blood in them: and from*  
 “ *fornication; that is, from marrying within the prohibited degrees of*  
 “ *consanguinity, adultery, incest; and (in general) all kinds of impu-*  
 “ *rity, forbidden by the law of Moses.* If you abstain from these four  
 “ things;<sup>i</sup> it is all the observation of the *law of Moses*, which, we  
 “ apprehend, is required of you. And, in complying with *chris-*  
 “ *tianity* in general,<sup>k</sup> and with these few particulars out of the *law of*  
 “ *Moses*; you will do your duty, and may expect to be finally and  
 “ perfectly happy. *Adieu.*”

Ver. 29. <sup>i</sup> See Dr. *Mill*'s various readings; and the *Essay, concerning the abolishing of the ceremonial law*; in the *notes*; p. 88, &c. *first edition*; p. 482, &c. *2d edition*. The addition to the common text, here, and ver. 20. found in some mss. versions and fathers, is, [*And whatever things you would not that others should do unto you, neither do you unto others.*] Which reading is not genuine; as may be seen, in Dr. *Mill*, and the *essay* here referred to.

<sup>k</sup> See the *antient manuscripts*; and *Irenæus*, mentioned by *Beza*.



C H A P. III. S E C T. V.

*Some farther considerations, to show, that this decree never related to any christians, but such as had been proselytes of the gate. Several queries, and objections; with their answers.*

**N**Otwithstanding *this solution* appeareth so easie, and natural; yet some have doubted of it. It may, therefore, be proper to add something farther; to show, that *this decree* (as it is commonly called) related to the *christians*, who had been *devout gentiles*; and to them alone. (1.) The body of the assembly, who came to that determination, or *agreement*, knew nothing, as yet, of the conversion of any *idolatrous gentiles*. For now it was, that St. PAUL went up, by *revelation*; and communicated the *gospel*, which he had preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, onely to JAMES, PETER, and JOHN: and that as a very great *secret*; which they were, by no means, to communicate to the *elders* and *brethren*. [Gal. ii. 2.] Whereas; all the *church* at *Jerusalem* knew of the conversion of the *devout gentiles*; and what *gospel*, St. PETER, and others, had preached unto them.

Suppose it be inquired, "Would not the *church* at *Jerusalem* have been for extending it to the *idolatrous gentiles*; if they had then known of the conversion of any such?" I answer: Perhaps the majority of them would have been desirous to have extended this injunction to all the *gentile christians*; and the *zealots* were very likely to have done so. But the *query* is, "Whether that attempt would have been right, or wrong?" I think, it would have been wrong; if we consider the decision of St. PAUL, concerning the *christians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*; when the *judaizers* would have imposed *circumcision*, and the *whole law*, upon them. [See Rom. xiv. 14; 17. 1 Cor. viii. 8. and x. 23; 25; 27.]

2. Here are no references to the case of the *idolatrous gentiles*, Acts xv. 1, — 34. *that is*, through the whole period of the *sacred history*, where this affair is mentioned. The dispute arose, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*; where the *church* consisted of *christians*, who had been *devout gentiles*. At least, it doeth not appear that there were any *christians*, belonging to *that church*, who had been either *jews*, or *idolatrous*

An. Christi  
49.  
Claud. 9.  
Book III.  
Ch. III.  
Sect. V.  
Acts xv.  
29.



An. Christi *trous gentiles*. The *gentiles*, of whom St. PETER speaketh, ver. 7. were evidently *devout gentiles*. For he himself had led the way to the reception of such *gentiles*, into the *christian church*. But he did not open the door of faith to the *idolatrous gentiles*. The *gentiles*, upon whom the name of GOD was called, ver. 17. was exactly their character. And when they said, *It seemed good to the holy spirit*; they plainly referred to the *holy spirit's* falling down upon *Cornelius*, and his friends. And, to what purpose did St. JAMES mention "the law of Moses being read in the synagogues, every sabbath-day;" if it had not been that the *profelytes of the gate* attended upon the reading of it; and frequently heard that these *abstinences* were thereby enjoined upon them? Whereas; the *idolatrous gentiles* used not to attend at the *jewish synagogues*?

3. Why were these four things pitched upon; but that they had been, long before, prohibited to the *profelytes of the gate*, by the law of Moses? Why not abstinence from *swine's flesh*, and some other things, which the *jews* abhorred; as much as *things offered to idols*, *fornication*, *things strangled*, and *blood*?

4. There is no-body pretendeth that the decree concerned the *jewish christians*. And it is evident, to me, that it concerned not the *christians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*. For, with what consistency could St. PAUL have now agreed, that it was necessary, for all the *gentile christians*, to abstain from these four things: And yet, long after, tell the *christians*, at *Corinth*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*, that "they might lawfully eat of meats offered to idols, and even in the idol's temple: provided they did it not, out of reverence to the idol; or so as to harden idolators, or offend weak and scrupulous consciences?" [1 Cor. viii. 8, 9, 10. and x. 23; 25; 27, &c.] Whereas; if we suppose that this decree related, peculiarly, to the *christians*, who had been *profelytes of the gate*; he might, very consistently, declare it lawful, for such *christians*, as had been *idolatrous gentiles*, to eat of such things; and assure them, that they were under no such engagements, as the *devout gentiles* were, to abstain from them. A by-law, of a particular corporation, concerneth not the greatest part of a kingdom. It is true; a law might have been inacted for a time; and abolished again, when the reason for it's being inacted should cease. But, if condescension to *jewish præjudices*, was the reason of inacting these laws; then, certainly, they ought not to have been abolished so soon. For, when St. PAUL wrote that epistle to the *Corinthians*, the *jewish christians*, there, seem so far from having laid aside their præjudices, that they appear rather more præ-



præjudiced; and more averse to the *gentile christians*; upon the account of the liberty, which they took, in eating promiscuously of all sorts of meats.

The sum of their case, therefore, seemeth to have been this. "As *christianity* altered nothing, in men's civil duties, or privileges; they continued still subject to *the great law of nature*; by the eternal reason of things; and by the *national law* of the country, where they lived, as far as the *law of nature* was incorporated into that *civil law*. And they came under new obligations to *the law of nature*, as it is adopted into the *christian law*. As to the *ceremonial* parts of the *law of Moses*; and whatever parts of it they were not subject to, before they became *christians*; the *holy spirit* determined, that, to such parts of it, they should never become subject. Though the zealous *jewish christians* would have imposed the observation of the *whole law*, upon them, after their imbracing *christianity*. — They were still bound to obey the *political law* of the country, where they lived; and, if they claimed the privileges of *profelytes of the gate*; that is, of settling, or sojourning, for any time, in *Palæstine*; or of frequenting the *jewish synagogue*, in any country; they were under obligations to abstain from the few things, mentioned in *this decree*."

To what hath been said, it may be objected, I. "Were not these four things parts of the *ceremonial law*? And, if the whole *ceremonial law* was abolished, by the death of CHRIST, even to the *jewish christians*; how came the abstaining from these four things to be necessary, to the *christians*, who had been *devout gentiles*?" Answer. Suppose that these four things had belonged to the *ceremonial law*; then their obligation to such *abstinences*, would have risen, from the state and circumstances of things; that is, it would have been a necessity of *fitnesse*, or a thing expedient, till the *jewish christians* had got over their præjudices. Besides; none of the APOSTLES, elders, or brethren, who were at *Jerusalem*, when that *determination* was agreed upon, seem to have been fully satisfied, at that time, of the total abolishing of the *ceremonial law*; unlesse we except PAUL and BARNABAS. [Of this, see more, in the essay, annexed to Titus, chap. ii. § 2.]

But, in truth, I take these four things to have been part of the *political*, and not of the *ceremonial, law*. And, therefore, the *devout gentiles* (who had a mind to keep up their right and title to the privileges, among the *jews*, which the *law of Moses* granted to *profelytes of the gate*) were obliged to these *abstinences*, after they became *christians*. For the *jewish government* was a *theocracy*. And, by their law,

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An. Christi <sup>49.</sup> law, none were permitted to live among them, but such as had cast  
 Claud. 9. off *idolatry*, and all the grand temptations to it, and concomitants  
 Book III. of it. And I am the rather inclined to believe that these things be-  
 Ch. III. longed to the *jewish polity*; because such, as did not observe them,  
 Sect. V. were to be put to death; that is, as *idolators*. [Lev. xvii. 4; 9; 14.  
 Acts xv. and xviii. 29.]

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Objection II. "The decree was sent into Syria, Cilicia, and other  
 "gentile countries. Now, what had the *gentile christians*, there, to  
 "do with the *jewish polity*?" Answer. Suppose they claimed the  
 privileges of the *jewish synagogue*, in those *gentile* countries; or had a  
 mind to have gone, and settled, or sojourned, for any time, in *Pa-*  
*læstine*: these were the terms. But, I do not suppose, that, if the  
*profelytes of the gate*, who lived out of *Judæa*, had renounced all  
 clame to such privileges, they would have been obliged, by the *law of*  
*Moses*, to abstain from these things. How far it might have been ex-  
 pedient to have done so, 'till the præjudices of the *jewish christians*  
 were vanished; — is another, and a very different, consideration.

Objection III. "Was not *fornication* one of the things prohibited?  
 "How, then, can *this decree* be thought peculiar to any one sort of  
 "christians? For there is no distinction made, between one particu-  
 "lar, and another. But, where abstaining from one of these things  
 "was obligatory; the abstaining from them all, was, by *this decree*,  
 "made obligatory?" Answer. Some of the *species* of *fornication*,  
 mentioned Lev. xviii. are evidently contrary to the light and *law of*  
*nature*; and all the *species* of it are forbid to all sorts of *christians*,  
 by the *law of CHRIST*. The *christians*, who had been *devout gen-*  
*tiles*, were under engagements to abstain from *fornication*, by virtue  
 of the *jewish polity*; as well as by the *law of nature*, and the *chris-*  
*tian law*. That is, in other words, though they were not obliged  
 to abstain from the other things, contained in *this decree*, by virtue  
 of any thing else, besides the *political law of the jews*; yet they were,  
 and all *christians* whatsoever are, obliged, by the *general chris-*  
*tian law*, to abstain from *fornication*. The onely thing peculiar, in  
 their case, was, that the *christians*, who had been *profelytes of the*  
*gate*, were likewise obliged to that abstinence, for some time, by a  
*law*, which never bound the *christians*, who had been *idolatrous gen-*  
*tiles*. But then, that peculiar obligation of theirs continued, onely  
 as long as the *jewish polity* continued. So long, *this decree*, and the  
 injunctions in the *law of Moses*, which regarded *them*, were binding.  
 But, when the *jews* ceased from being a *nation*, and their *polity* was  
 dissolved;



dissolved; their *national law* could be no longer binding, either upon the *jews*, or *profelytes of the gate*.

But it ought carefully to be observed, that, though their obligation, from the *political law* of the *jews*, to abstain from *fornication*, was made void, by the destruction of the *jewish polity*; yet they continued under the strongest obligations to abstain from it, by the *christian law*; notwithstanding their full liberty to eat *blood*, *things strangled*, and *things offered to idols*. That is, The obligation to abstain from the three last, arose intirely from the particular *polity* of the *jews*. And, therefore, of course, ceased with that polity. But their obligations to abstain from the first arose, also, from other *laws* and *ingagements*; even after the *jewish polity* was destroyed; and which, to this day, continue in force.

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### CHAP. III. SECT. VI.

*The advantages of this solution, in comparison of others, that have been offered.*

(1.) “THIS solution giveth the proper force and meaning to the words made use of; and sheweth, that the question of the *judaizers*, and the answer of the *APOSTLES*, *elders*, and *brethren*, refer to the same thing.” They call these abstinences *necessary*. Whereas; according to some, “they were onely *expedient*.” If they had been onely *expedient*, they ought to have intimated, to the *gentile converts*, that they were *not necessary*; but mere *condescensions*, for the present, to the *præjudices* of their *jewish brethren*: that they might, in due time, have asserted *their liberty*; and that, in the mean time, the *judaizers* might not take any handle, from their determination, to impose these things as *necessary*. Besides; if any thing was proposed, onely by way of *expediency*; why were these particular things pitched upon? And why these onely? Why not abstinence from *swine’s flesh*; or from the flesh of such creatures, as died of themselves? And many other things, which were disagreeable to the *jews*, as well as these? [See *Spencer de legibus, heb. edit. Cantab. 1727, p. 597, &c.*]



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Again: If such *abstinences* were *expedient*, for fear of giving offence to *jews*, or to some *christians*; why are not these *prohibitions* looked upon, as still obligatory? For, (besides the offence, which our *eating blood* gives the *greek* and *æthiopic churches*) have we not many *jews* among us, at this day, as well as many *christians*, who scruple the *eating of blood*; and are offended with such as eat it?

According to others, "All these abstinences were *necessary*, to all persons, by the *law of nature*." But it will be hard (nay, I think, impossible) to prove, that eating *things strangled*, and *blood*, is forbidden by the *law of nature*.

And, finally, according to others, "It was *necessary* to abstain from these things, by the *seven precepts of Noah*." Whereas; here is nothing said about the *precepts of Noah*; but about the *law of Moses*. Besides; the *precepts of Noah*, are said to have been *seven*; but the things, here prohibited, are only four. Nay; it is very much to be questioned, whether there ever were such *precepts* given to *Noah*. For *Moses* saith nothing of them. And how later writers came to know of them, is hard to say. But, supposing there had been such *precepts* given to *Noah*, as the *jewish Rabbins* have pretended; these are not the things, according to their account of them.<sup>a</sup> But, what we have to do with the *precepts of Noah*, in a dispute about what parts of the *law of Moses* those *gentile christians* were to observe; — I cannot imagine.

(2.) "The *solution*, now given, clearly sheweth us, why such things were joined together, in *this decree*." It was not, because they were all of them *unlawful*, or all of them *indifferent*, in their own nature.<sup>b</sup> But, because they were all *forbidden together*, to the *devout gentiles*, in the *jewish law*; to guard them against the temptations to *idolatry*, and prevent their being suspected of it, by the *jews*. This *decree*, therefore, contained no precepts of an *heterogeneous nature*, to those, to whom it was addressed. In the collection of *national laws*, things, that are eternally and in their own nature *unlawful*, may be set down along with things that were *indifferent*; antecedent to their being forbidden; especially if, in some circumstances, such things have, all of them, more or less, the same bad tendency. But their being joined, upon some particular occasion, doeth not, in the least, alter what

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Selden, de Jur. Nat. l. 7. c. 7. Grot. in Act. xv. 20. Ainsworth, in Gen. ix. 4. Spencer, dissertat. in Act. xv. 20. c. ii.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Iren. adv. Hær. l. i. c. 27.



what they were originally, and in their own nature. Upon any other scheme, it is hard to show what connection these things have with one another. But, upon the supposition of their being prohibited, to the *profelytes of the gate*, by the *law of Moses*, in order to guard against *idolatry*; it is easie to observe, that, though *fornication* be, in it's own nature, wicked and *unlawful*; it might, with great propriety, be joined with things that were in their own nature *indifferent*. And, though the obligation, to abstain from the last, would cease of course, when the *positive law*, which enjoined such abstinences, ceased; yet the first would then remain *unlawful*, in it's own nature, as it was before; and might also be prohibited by the *christian law*; as it actually is.

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(3.) "The *solution*, now given, may teach us, in a clear and easie manner, to reconcile *this letter* of the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, with what OUR SAVIOR had said before, concerning the lawfulness of eating all sorts of food; and with what St. PAUL declared, afterwards, in writeing to such *christians*, as had been *idolatrous gentiles*." OUR SAVIOR declared, without makeing any exception, of *things offered to idols*, *things strangled*, or *blood*, "that nothing, which entereth into a man defileth a man." And *this letter* of the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, ordered the *profelytes of the gate* to abstain from these things: not as what was a matter of *religion*; or that the eating them would have *defiled their consciences*; but as forbidden them, by the *civil law* of the *jews*; which, 'till then, and some time afterwards, continued in full force and obligation. There cannot, therefore, be any inconsistency between OUR LORD's saying, "that *religion* requires *no abstinence* from any sorts of meats;" and the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren saying "that the *civil law* of the *jews* required some such abstinences, from such persons as were subject to it."

Again: St. PAUL, in writeing to the *christians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*, is not onely intirely silent, about *this decree*; but declareth, (long after *this letter* was written, by the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren) "that he knew, and was persuaded, by the LORD JESUS CHRIST, that nothing was *unclean*; unlesse to such, as scrupled the lawfulness of eating it. And, he alloweth the *christians*, at *Corinth*, to eat *meats offered to idols*; provided they did not reverence the *idols*, harden the *idolators*, or offend the weak and scrupulous *christians*." But *that* is not, in the least, inconsistent with *this decree*: because that was said to such *christians*, as had been *idolatrous gentiles*; who had never been subject to any part of the *law*



An. Christi of Moses, and whom *this decree* did not at all concern. They, there-  
 Claud. 49. fore, might be at *full liberty*, to eat *blood*, *things strangled*, and *things*  
 Book III. offered to idols; though the *christians*, who had been *profelytes of the*  
 Ch. III. gate, were not allowed such *liberty*; because they were under different  
 Sect. VI. civil obligations.

Acts xv. 29. (4, and lastly.) "This *solution* is most agreeable to the nature and  
 "genius of the *christian religion*; which altereth nothing in men's civil  
 "rights, or duties." We are intirely free from the *law of Moses*.  
 And the *gospel* manifesteth itself to be, upon all accounts, a *reason-*  
*able service*, and the *perfect law of liberty*; granting us all the *liber-*  
*ty*, which wise and virtuous men could desire. Some, indeed, have  
 taken occasion, from *this decree*, to attack the *christian religion* itself;  
 as if it did not give us that *liberty* from the *law of Moses*, which it  
 pretends; or which *reason* itself would indulge. From whence they  
 would infer, "that *christianity* is not that *free*, nor *reasonable, service*;  
 which it's votaries have represented it to be." But their *objections*  
 arise merely from the misunderstanding of *this decree*. For, by *this*  
*solution*, we take away the foundation of such *exceptions*. And, not  
 onely so; but the scruples likewise, which some *christians*, and even  
*considerable divines*, have entertained, concerning the lawfulness of  
 eating *things strangled*, and *blood*, may hereby be taken away. As  
*this decree* concerned onely one sort of *christians*; and concerned them  
 no longer, than 'till the destruction of *Jerusalem*, when there was  
 an end of the *jewish polity*. It never concerned the *christians*, who  
 had been *idolatrous gentiles*, at all: nor any *christians*, in these later  
 ages. And, therefore, we cannot be obliged to observe it. — As  
 to *fornication*; it is frequently declared, in the *gospel*, to be unlawful,  
 to all *christians*, of all times and places. And, therefore, we stand  
 obliged to abstain from it. But the other things, forbidden in *this de-*  
*cree*, are no where else declared be unlawful to all *christians*. And,  
 therefore, we are not obliged to abstain from them.

"Some, indeed, who suppose themselves to be under no obliga-  
 "tion to abstain from *eating blood*, by virtue of *this decree*, are yet in-  
 "clined to look upon themselves as bound to abstain from it; by vir-  
 "tue of it's being prohibited to *Noah*, soon after the flood. [Gen.  
 "ix. 4.] For they look upon him, as the common father of all man-  
 "kind, since the deluge; and that the *precepts*, given to him, were  
 "general, and are binding upon all his descendents." Answer. I think  
 it very dubious, whether the mere eating of *blood*, separated from the  
 flesh of any animal, is there prohibited. For the *text* itself runs  
 thus: "But flesh, with the life thereof, that is, the *blood* thereof;  
 shall



"shall you not eat." *That is,* (say some of the *jewish doctors*;) "GOD did there prohibit *Noah*, and his sons, to cut a limb off from a living animal; and eat it, with the *blood* and *life* in it." And that interpretation seems to arise from the very letter of the *text*, and would fairly account for the connection. *q. d.* "I will not permit you to use cruelty towards the brute creatures. For that will lead you to cruelty towards one another, and to murder men." And, if that be the sense of the place, I am content that it be universally binding. For *cruelty* is to be condemned, at all times and places.

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But, supposing that prohibition, given to *Noah*, Gen. ix. 4. were to be understood of mere eating *blood*; I should look upon it to have been only *temporary*, as well as *this decree*. That is, they were to abstain from *blood*; for this reason, very probably, among others; *namely*, That, as the *blood* was to be offered unto GOD, in the *sacrifices*, he would not permit them to eat it; but reserved it, as a thing sacred and holy, unto himself. [See Lev. xvii. 11, 12; 14.] I should look upon it, I say, to have been *temporary*; — supposing that to have been the sense of the *law*. Because, it is evidently abolished, to *christians*, in the new testament, by OUR LORD; who has put an end to all *sacrifices*; and has likewise declared, in general, and without exception, "that nothing, which entereth into a man, defileth the man." And his APOSTLE, St. PAUL, assures us, "that he knew, and was persuaded, by the LORD JESUS CHRIST, that nothing is of itself common, or unclean; unlesse to him that accounteth it so; or that has not yet got over his præjudices." [Rom. xiv. 14.] But many learned men apprehend the former to be the sense of the prohibition, given to *Noah* and his sons; *namely*, that they should not, in a voracious manner, eat flesh, taken from any living animal, raw, and whilst the *blood* was warm and springing, and the life not intirely gone out of it.<sup>c</sup>

In

<sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 32, 33, 34. Ezek. xxxiii. 25. See Targ. Jonathan. Gen. ix. 4. Maimon. More Nevoch. part iii. c. 48. Ainsworth on Gen. ix. 4. and Dr. Jeremiah Hunt's Essay, for explaining the scripture revelation, p. 51, 52. Seld. de Jure Nat. & Gent. l. 7. c. 1.

My late worthy friend, Mr. Lowman, has another solution.

"It was a well-known doctrine of the antient idolators, that blood was a food for dæmons. It was, therefore, a customary rite of idolatry, when they killed a beast, to receive the blood into some vessel, or pour it into some hole, or trench, made in the ground; and, setting themselves round about it, to eat the flesh; supposing, that, they eating the flesh, while the dæmons drank the blood, they were the dæmons guests; and, by this kind of communion with them, were enabled to prophesie, and to foretel things to come." Maimon, Mor. Nev. part iii. l. 46.



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In one word, there are no *unnecessary burthens* in the *christian law*. But the *whole plan* is calculated to the noblest views; *that is*, to promote peace and charity, virtue and happiness, among mankind.

## C H A P. III. S E C T. VII.

*The church at Antioch receive, with joy, the sentiments of the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren. PETER went down to Antioch, and was reprov'd, there, by PAUL. Acts xv. 30, — 34.*

PAUL and BARNABAS, Titus, Judas, and Silas, being dismissed, by the church, at Jerusalem, they went to Antioch in Syria. And, having called together the church, there, they delivered unto them the epistle, from the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren. Which, when they had read, they greatly rejoiced, at the advice sent them. For it was matter of great consolation to them. In as much as they had required them to observe onely those parts of the law of Moses, which they had formerly observed; and had not imposed *circumcision*, and the whole law, upon them, as absolutely necessary to their salvation. Judas also, and Silas, who were prophets in the christian church, took a great deal of pains to exhort the christian brethren, at Antioch; very probably, to submit to the things contained in the epistle, and to no more of the Mosaic law; but to stand fast in their christian liberty, as well as to conform to the gospel in general. These two messengers of the christian church at Jerusalem, having tarried, some time, at Antioch, to deliver the letter; and explaine, or inforce, it; as well as to observe how it was received, and what effects it had: Having tarried, I say, a sufficient time, there, for these, and like purposes; they were dismissed, in a peaceable and friendly manner, by the church, at Antioch; that they

1. 46. p. 484.] 'Therefore, there is a law, *Ye shall not eat any thing with the blood.*

' Or, as learned men have observed, the truer interpretation, *at the blood, or before*

*the blood*, [לֶחַיִם לֶבֶד] Lev. xix. 26.] as the manner was, when the blood was thus

' offered to dæmons.'

[See Mr. Moses Lowman's *rational of the ritual of the hebrew worship*, p. 233, 234.]



## St. PETER's dissimulation, at Antioch.

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they might return to those that sent them: and, particularly, unto such of the APOSTLES, as abode still at *Jerusalem*; who were (without doubt) concerned to know the issue of the grand affair depending. But *Silas*, or *Silvanus*, who was one of them, chose rather to tarry longer at *Antioch*. *Judas*, therefore, (surnamed *Barsabas*) returned to *Jerusalem* alone.

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After some time, it happened that St. PETER came down, from *Jerusalem*, to *Antioch*; while PAUL and BARNABAS still continued in that city. [*Gal. ii. 11, &c.*] For this is the onely time, that St. PETER found the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles* there. Perhaps, that leading APOSTLE of the *circumcision* had a mind to go and see, with his own eyes, how matters went, in that considerable church of *devout gentiles*. But his behavior, there, was not such as the great APOSTLE of the *gentiles* could approve. For, though there had lately been a sharp contention between the *jewish* and *gentile converts*. And the question had been determined, in favor of the *gentile christians*, who were to be acknowledged as *brethren*, without any farther conformity to *jewish* customs, or to the law of *Moses*. And St. PETER, himself, had had a great hand in bringing about that determination; yet, for all that, his behavior at *Antioch*, in some measure, tended to betray that *liberty* of the *gentile christians*; and looked as if they were not taken into full communion with the *jewish converts*. For, before that some zealous *jewish christians* came, from JAMES, (the onely APOSTLE then at *Jerusalem*,) St. PETER did eat, and freely converse, with the *gentile christians*; as persons taken into full communion with the *jewish converts*. But, when those zealots were come, he acted, as if he had been ashamed of what he had done; or as desirous to conceal it. For he withdrew from the society of the *gentile christians*, and separated himself from them; as if they had been still *unclean*, and unfit for the familiar and free conversation of such as had been *jews*. And, by his means, many other of the lesse bigoted *jewish christians* disssembled, likewise. Nay; when St. PETER did so, (that APOSTLE of so great renown; who had, himself, first received the *gentiles* into the *christian church*,) even BARNABAS, also, one of the APOSTLES of the *gentiles*, was carried away with the dissimulation: very probably, through that easynesse of temper, which was natural to him. St. PETER remembered how sharply the *jewish christians*, at *Jerusalem*, had reprimanded him, for going and eating with *Cornelius*, and his friends; when he first preached to *uncircumcised gentiles*. He might, therefore, take that method, in order to prevent such another censure. Nay; St. PAUL assureth us, that he did it, because he was afraid of the displeasure of the *jewish christians*. But the

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An. Christi the great APOSTLE of the gentiles, who was not a whit behind the  
 50. chief of the APOSTLES; when he saw that he walked contrary to  
 Claud. 10. the truth and sincerity of the *gospel*; and, in effect, betrayed the li-  
 Book III. berty of the *gentile converts*; he withstood St. PETER to the face;  
 Ch. III. and publicly rebuked him. For he was really blame-worthy. — St.  
 Sect. VII. PAUL seemeth to have been afraid, lest the behavior of St. PETER,  
 Acts xv. and of the other *jewish christians*, who were influenced by him,  
 34. should renew the dispute, which had been lately determined at *Jeru-  
 salem*, and so much to his satisfaction. And, therefore, he, before  
 them all, address'd St. PETER thus. “If you (said he) who are a  
 “*jewish convert*, yourself, take the liberty, sometimes, to live after  
 “the manner of the *gentiles*; and freely eat, and converse, with them;  
 “laying aside those rules and customs, which the *jews* generally ob-  
 “serve; why do not you always do so, among them? Why do you  
 “tempt the *gentile converts* to conform to the *jewish* customs; by  
 “sometimes withdrawing from them, as *unclean*, or unfit for your  
 “familiar conversation? We, who are *jews* by birth, as well as *reli-  
 gion*; and not of the race of the *gentiles*, whom our nation hath  
 “hitherto reckoned so wicked and polluted: — We, I say, of the  
 “holy seed of the *jews*, have found that a man, subject to the *law  
 of Moses*, cannot be justified, but by the method propos'd in the  
 “*gospel*. And, therefore, we have imbraced *christianity*; that we  
 “might be justified by *faith* in CHRIST, and not by the *deeds* of the  
 “*law of Moses*. For, by the deeds of that *law*, no flesh shall be justi-  
 “fied. But, if, while we seek justification by the *gospel-method*, we must  
 “have recourse to the *law* again; we are still but where we were;  
 “that is, condemned sinners. Is the *gospel-method*, then, insufficient  
 “to justify and save us? And JESUS CHRIST the minister of sin, to  
 “condemn men, as the law did? GOD forbid! And yet this is cer-  
 “tainly the case. If I, who have quitted the *law of Moses*, to put  
 “myself under the *gospel*, should again put myself under the *law*, I  
 “make myself a transgressor. I reassume the guilt of all my former  
 “transgressions; from which, by that *law*, I cannot be justified.  
 “And, when you build again the *wall of partition*, to keep out the  
 “*gentiles*, which you yourself first broke down; do not you destroy  
 “your own works; and represent these *gentiles*, as still *polluted*, and  
 “*unclean*: though then GOD showed you not to account any man  
 “*polluted*, or unfit for your society, and conversation? By the tenor  
 “of the *law of Moses* itself, I, by imbracing *christianity*, am dis-  
 “charged from *that law*; that I might be appropriated to GOD, and  
 “live acceptably to him, in his kingdom; which he hath now set  
 “up, under *his son*. I, as a member of CHRIST's body, am cru-  
 “cified



"cified with him. But, though I am thereby dead to *the law*, I  
 "nevertheſſe live. Yet not I; but CHRIST liveth in me. *That*  
 "is, the life, which I now live in the fleſh, is upon no other prin-  
 "ciple, nor under any other *law*, but that of *faith* in the ſon of  
 "GOD; who loved me, and gave himſelf for me. In ſo doing, I  
 "avoid fruſtrateing the favor, which GOD has manifeſted, in the  
 "gospel. For, if juſtification, or acceptance with GOD, come by  
 "the *law of Moſes*; then CHRIST is dead, and the *gospel* reveled,  
 "in vane."

An. Chriſti  
 50.  
 Claud. 10.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. III.  
 Sect. VII.  
 Acts xv.

C H A P. IV.

*The continuation of the jewish and roman history.*

Herod Agrippa's dominions turned into a roman province. The præſidents of Syria, and procurators of Judæa. Seditions among the jews. Agrippa the younger, and Felix, advanced.

I H A V E already related the tragical death of *Herod Agrippa*; and the great pains, which he, in many inſtances took, to oblige the *jews*. But he doeth not ſeem to have equally obliged and gratified his other ſubjects. For, as ſoon as they of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* knew of his death, they made public rejoiceings; caſting bitter reflections upon the deceased king, and treating his family with great indignity. His ſon, *Agrippa*, who was onely ſeventeen years of age, was then at *Rome*; where he was educated in the emperor's court. When *Claudius*, the emperor, heard of the death of *Herod Agrippa*, whom he looked upon, as his old and faithful friend, he was greatly troubled: and could not forbear reſenting it, that the inhabitants of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* ſhould rejoice at his death, and inſult his memory and family. As for his own part, he reſolved to ſend away *Agrippa*, his ſon, immediately, to take poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom. But his freedmen and favorites diſſuaded him from it, under a pretence that it was too great a truſt to be committed to ſo young a man.\* Though they, in reality, aſpired

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K

after

\* Joſeph, antiq. l. 19. c. 9.



An. Christi 50.  
 Claud. 10.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. IV.  
 Acts xv.  
 34.

after the government themselves. And, accordingly, it was granted to such of them, as could make the greatest interest with the emperor for it.<sup>b</sup> And, in the first place, *Cuspius Fadus* was sent as procurator.<sup>c</sup> For the kingdom of *Herod Agrippa* was now turned into a roman province. To *Fadus*, *Claudius* gave it in charge, that he should chastise the people of *Cæsarea* and *Sebastæ*, for insulting the memory of the deceased king; and for the contumely, which they had done to his daughters. But they made such interest with the emperor, that they did not suffer much, upon that account. Not long after this, *Vibius Marsus* was recalled from being præfident of *Syria*; and *Cassius Longinus* sent thither, in his stead. When *Fadus* came into *Judæa*, he found the jews, who inhabited *Peræa*, had killed several of the *Philadelphians*, in an insurrection; which they had made, about the boundaries of a village, which lay between them. But he soon put a stop to it, by punishing the heads and authors of the sedition. After that, he cleared the country of the robbers, who had greatly molested them. And, upon some disgust, which the emperor had received from the jews, *Cassius Longinus*, the præfident of *Syria*, and *Cuspius Fadus*, the procurator of *Judæa*, were sent to *Jerusalem*, with some forces. Where, having called together the chief-priests, and leading men of that city, they acquainted them, that the emperor would have the high-priest's robes deposited, in the tower of *Antonia*, as they had been formerly. But *Agrippa the younger*, who was then in the emperor's court, prevailed with *Claudius*, to revoke that order.<sup>d</sup> About the same time, *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, obtained, of *Claudius*, the power of the temple, and of the sacred treasury; as, likewise, to appoint who should be high-priest. Upon which, he deposed *Simon Cantheras*; and made *Joseph*, the son of *Camys*, high-priest, in his stead.

*Cuspius Fadus*, having been procurator of *Judæa*, for about two years, he was removed; and *Tiberius Alexander* was sent to succede him.<sup>e</sup> He had been a jew; and was son to *Alexander*, the alabarch, or chief magistrate of the jews, at *Alexandria*, in *Ægypt*. But he had renounced his religion, and gone over to the *beathens*. During his administration, the famine happened, of which *Agabus* had prophesied. And to provide for which, the gentile christians, at *Antioch*, had sent a generous collection, to the jewish christians, at *Jerusalem*;

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. hist. l. 5. c. 9.  
 Bell. l. 2. c. 11. § 6.  
 jud. l. 20. c. 5. § 2.

<sup>c</sup> Jos. antiq. jud. l. 19. c. 9. ad fin. & de  
<sup>d</sup> Jos. antiq. l. 20. c. 1.      <sup>e</sup> Jos. antiq.



*Jerusalem.* By him, also, *Jacob* and *Simon* were apprehended and crucified. They were the sons of *Judas* of *Galilee*, who had excited the people to revolt from the *romans*, when *Quirinius* made a census, in *Judæa*. And, very probably, they had attempted something of the like nature. — *Joseph*, the son of *Camys*, did not long enjoy the dignity, before *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, deposed him; and conferred the high-priesthood upon *Ananias*, the son of *Nebedæus*. After which, *Tiberius Alexander* was recalled, and *Ventidius Cumanus* made procurator of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, in his stead. During the great festivals, the *romans* used to order a number of soldiers, to keep watch, in the porticoes of the temple; to prevent any disturbance, from the vast multitudes of people, who used to flock to *Jerusalem*, upon such occasions. It happened, that, at the pass-over, one of the soldiers, whom *Cumanus* had ordered upon that service, did, in a wanton and insolent humor, expose what modesty teaches men, universally, to conceal; perhaps to expresse his contempt of the *jewish* custom of *circumcision*. Such an indecency, within the limits of the temple, did greatly exasperate the *jews*; who cried out, that “it was a showing contempt, not to them, but to God himself.” And some of the more warm and forward of them inveighed against *Cumanus*, as if it had been done by his order. This greatly incensed the procurator; who, nevertheless, kept his temper so far, as to beg of them to make no sedition, during the festival. But intreaties would not do. No! they rather reviled and insulted him the more. He, therefore, ordered all the soldiers, in the city, instantly to repair, with their arms, to the tower of *Antonia*. Upon which, the people were terrified; and fled with so great precipitation, that about twenty thousand of them were trod, or pressed, to death; by reason of the narrowness of the gates of the temple. This turned the festival into a time of universal lamentation. So that the *jews*, in general, neglecting their prayers and sacrifices, gave themselves up to tears and mourning. Nay, farther; that great calamity brought on another. For some of them, who had escaped, were filled with resentment; and happening to meet with one *Stephen*, a servant of *Cæsar*’s, at *Bethoron*, about twelve miles from *Jerusalem*, they fell upon him, in a furious manner; and plundered him of all his baggage. As soon as *Cumanus* heard of it, he sent out some of the *roman* soldiers, to plunder the neighboring villages, and to bring the principal persons therein, to him; as if they had been guilty of that fact. The villages were, accordingly, laid waste. And one of the soldiers, sent upon that expedition, hap-

An. Christi  
50.  
Claud. 10.  
Book III.  
Ch. IV.  
Acts xv.  
34.



An. Christi pening to find, in a village, the *books of Moses*, he publicly tore them  
 50. in pieces; withall, throwing out scoffs, and bitter reflections, on the  
 Claud. 10. *jewish* laws and nation. The report of this, suddenly drew together  
 Book III. a vast number of *jews*; who went to *Cæsarea*, and petitioned *Cuma-*  
 Ch. IV. nus "to revenge the injury done, not to *them*, but to the *deity*; whose  
 Acts xv. "laws were treated in so unworthy a manner. For they could not  
 34. "bear to live, to see the laws of their *fathers* treated with such in-  
 "dignity." He, fearing a general insurrection, advised with his  
 council; and beheaded the soldier. By which mean, the tumult  
 was appeased.<sup>f</sup>

The former of these instances shows what great regard the *jews* had for their *temple*; and the latter points out their excedeing great reverence for the *law of Moses*. From whence, we may be satisfied, that the representations of the new testament, concerning both these particulars, are just, and well-grounded.

*Herod, king of Chalcis*, died. And *Claudius* conferred his kingdom, on his nephew, the *younger Agrippa*. To whom he, also, committed the power, over the *temple*, and the sacred treasury, as well as of conferring the high-priesthood, on whom he pleased.<sup>g</sup> The emperor, *Claudius*, was very much influenced by his wives and freed-men; as we shall show, more particularly, hereafter. And hence it was, that *Antonius Claudius Felix*, one of his freed-men, was made governor of *Samaria*. For he was brother to *Pallas*, another of the emperor's freed-men, who was highly in favor with his master; and yet more with *Agrippina*, whom he had been greatly instrumental, in promoting to be empress.<sup>h</sup> By *Agrippina's* interest, therefore, *Pallas*  
 las

<sup>f</sup> Joseph. antiq. l. 20. c. 5. § 3, 4. In the *history of the jewish war*, [l. 2. c. 12. § 1.] *Josephus* computes those that were pressed to death, about the gates of the *temple*, at above ten thousand. But here, at twenty thousand. Either the numbers might be changed, by the transcribers; or the slain might be between ten and twenty thousand.

<sup>g</sup> There is some mistake, or wrong reading, *Jos. antiq.* l. 20. c. 1. § ult. where it is said, "that this power continued, in the descendents of *Herod, king of Chalcis*, to the end of the war." See *Hudson in loc.* and *Dr. Lardner's credibility*, &c. part. i. p. 30. in the notes. 2d edition, p. 49. 3d edition. See, also, *Joseph. antiq.* l. 20. c. 8. § 8; 11. & c. 9. § 1. edit. *Havercamp*. From whence it will appear that none of the sons of *Herod, king of Chalcis*, did nominate any high-priests. But all the changes, in the high-priesthood, after the death of the said *Herod*, [which happened in the 8th of *Claudius*,] to the time of the war, were made, by *Agrippa the younger*, nephew of this *Herod, king of Chalcis*. And, when the people of *Jerusalem* had a mind to apply the sacred money, to any particular purpose, they addressed to *Agrippa*, and he gave the directions. [*Joseph. antiq.* c. 9. § 7.] In which place, *Josephus* says expressly, that "the king [*Agrippa*] had been intrusted with the care, "or government, of the *temple*, by *Claudius Cæsar*."

<sup>h</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 1, 2, 3.



las obtained, for his brother *Felix*, the government of *Samaria*.<sup>i</sup> And, afterwards, got him farther promoted.

*Cassius Longinus* being removed, *Ummidius Quadratus* was made *præfident* of *Syria*. Dureing his administration, the quarrel happened between the jews and samaritanes; which hath been related above.<sup>k</sup> And, when *Cumanus* would not do them justice, the jews appealed to *Quadratus*; accuseing the samaritanes of begining the quarrel, and *Cumanus* of favoring them.<sup>l</sup> And (according to *Tacitus*) *Felix* was also criminal; by applying unseasonable remedies; and even partaking of the plunder, which had been carried off, in that quarrel. The samaritanes had, indeed, complained first to *Quadratus*; chargeing the jews with begining the quarrel, and with contemning the roman authority. But, when *Quadratus* did, after some time, go into *Samaria*; he found they had given him a false information, and that they themselves had begun the quarrel. However; understanding that some of the jews were meditateing some new tumults and insurrections, he crucified those, whom *Cumanus* had taken alive; and put others to death; to terrifie the rest. And haveing power, from the emperor, to try *Cumanus* and *Felix*; who were, perhaps, more guilty than either the jews or samaritanes; he found some difficulty in proceeding against them. And, after all, was hindered from executeing justice, upon *Felix*; whose brother, *Pallas*, was so much in favor with the emperor, and with *Agrippina*, the empress. For, instead of being tried, himself; he was made one of the judges in that affair. Which put an intire stop to all accusations against him.<sup>m</sup> But *Cumanus*, who had no such friend, in the emperor's court, was deposed, and sent to *Rome*, together with *Celer*, the tribune; to give an account of their conduct, before *Cæsar*. And, farther; *Quadratus* sent, in chains, *Jonathan*, and *Ananias* the high-priest, and his son *Ananus*, the captain of the temple; and ordered several other leading men, among the jews and samaritanes, to appear before *Cæsar*, concerning that affair. *Cumanus*, and the samaritanes,<sup>n</sup> had made such interest with the emperor's freed-men and favorites; that, when the affair came to an hearing, they would have got the better of the jews; had it not been for *Agrippa the younger*, who was still at *Rome*; and interceded so powerfully with *Agrippina*, the empress. She had the ascendent over *Claudius*; and prevailed with him to put

An. Christi  
50.  
Claud. 10.  
Book III.  
Ch. IV.  
Acts xv.  
34.

<sup>i</sup> Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. ad fin.  
history, p. 154.

<sup>k</sup> Jos. Antiq. l. 20. c. 6. § 2. & de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12.  
§ 5, &c. <sup>m</sup> Annal. l. 12. c. 54.  
§ 6, &c. Antiq. Jud. l. 20. c. 6. § ult.

<sup>n</sup> See vol. 1. of this

<sup>l</sup> Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12.



An Christi put to death, such of the *samaritanes*, as were then at *Rome*: to  
 50. banish *Cumanus*; and to order *Celer*, the tribune, who had also been  
 Claud. 10. criminal in that affair, to be carried back to *Jerusalem*; that he  
 Book III. might be publicly draged through the streets of the city, and after-  
 Ch. IV. wards beheaded. Whereas; *Felix* (who had been as guilty as *Cu-*  
 Acts xv. *manus*, and the others, who suffered, upon that occasion) not onely  
 34. continued in the government of *Samaria*; but was also, by the in-  
 terest of his brother, made *procurator* of *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and *Pe-*  
*ræa*. Where he exercised great injustice and cruelty; and lived in  
 a voluptuous and debauched manner. *Tacitus* sais, that he married  
 one *Drusilla*, the grand-daughter of *Mark Antony* and *Cleopatra*.  
 By which mean, he became related to the *Cæsarean* family; and  
 even to *Claudius* the emperor.<sup>o</sup> *Josephus* informs us, that he married  
*Drusilla*, daughter of *Herod Agrippa*; and that she left her former  
 husband, *Azizus*, king of the *Emisenes*, on purpose to marry *Felix*,  
 who was mightily inamored with her beauty.<sup>p</sup> Both these accounts  
 may be true. For *Suetonius* sais, that *Felix* was the husband of three  
 queens; though there is no intimation who the third was.

The emperor, *Claudius*, took the kingdom of *Chalcis*, from *Agrip-  
 pa the younger*, after he had governed it four years; and gave him,  
 instead of it, a larger kingdom; namely, *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis*, and  
*Gaulanitis*; which had been the *tetrarchy* of *Philip*; together with  
*Abila*, that had been the *tetrarchy* of *Lysanias*. To which he, like-  
 wise, added the *province*, which had belonged to *Varus*.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Tacit. annal. l. 5. c. 9.      <sup>p</sup> Antiq. l. 20. c. 7. § 2.  
 antiq. l. 20. c. 5. § 2. & c. 7. § 1.      De bell. jud. l. 2. c. 12. § ult.

<sup>q</sup> Joseph,



C H A P. V.

*St. PAUL's second apostolic journey, along with Silas and Timothy, to establish such as were already converted to christianity, in part of Asia minor; and to convert others, in Phrygia, Galatia, Troas, Macedonia, and Greece. Or his Phrygian, Galatian, Græcian, and Macedonian journey. Acts xv. 35, — xviii. 22.*

S E C T. I.

*PAUL proposeth to BARNABAS to go out again. They differ about John Mark; and go separate journeys. BARNABAS goeth to Cyprus; and PAUL, through Syria, and Cilicia. They deliver the apostolic decree to the churches. Acts xv. 35, to the end of that chapter.*

**P**AUL and BARNABAS, having now continued, for some time, at Antioch in Syria, teaching the christian doctrine, in conjunction with many others. And the church, there, being settled, by the letter, from the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, at Jerusalem: — PAUL proposed to BARNABAS, that they should go out again; and see how things went, with the several churches, which they had gathered, in their former apostolic journey. BARNABAS readily consented to the proposal. But, out of his very great natural affection for his nephew, John Mark, he insisted upon it, that he should be permitted to go along with them, a second time; as an evangelist, or their minister, and assistant. Whereas; St. PAUL, judging more impartially, and without the bias of consanguinity, did not think it proper to admit him. Because, he had, at Pamphilia, (either in a cowardly, or humorsome, manner,) left them, in their last apostolic journey; and would not accompany them, in their necessity, as he ought to have done. And the contention grew so sharp and violent, between those two excellent men, that they parted company: though, perhaps, in as friendly a manner, as Abraham and Lot did, after their contention. [Gen. xiii. 7, &c.] But, suppose

An. Christi  
50.  
Claud. 10.  
Book III.  
Ch. V.  
Sect. I.  
Acts xv.  
35, &c.



An. Christi pose it was with dislike and resentment, there is nothing wonderful  
 50. in it. For, though they were inspired with the whole scheme of  
 Claud. 10. the *christian* doctrine; and so far under the guidance of an unerring  
 Book III. spirit; yet no *christian* supposes that they were inspired in their or-  
 Ch. V. dinary conduct, or devided of all human infirmities. And it would  
 Sect. I. be ridiculous to make such things any objection to the truth of the  
 Acts xv. *christian religion*. On the contrary, it ought to be looked upon, as  
 39, &c. a proof of the great fairnesse and impartiality of the sacred histori-  
 ans, that they frankly owned; and, without reserve, published; the  
 foibles and imperfections of their *fellow-christians*; and even of the  
 APOSTLES and first planters of the *glorious gospel*. — But, what-  
 ever human infirmity there was, in this contention between PAUL and  
 BARNABAS; GOD, in his good providence, made this separation of  
 theirs turn to the greater and more extensive good of mankind. For,  
 by that mean, they spread *christianity*, in more, and distant, countries.  
 And not onely the *christian churches*, in general; but St. MARK, also,  
 was profited, by this severity of St. PAUL. And behaved himself so, as  
 again to deserve the esteem and commendation of *that great APOSTLE*.  
 For they were perfectly reconciled; and acted in concert, in spread-  
 ing and promoteing *christianity*; as appeareth from both BARNABAS  
 and *John Mark's* being mentioned, after this, with great honor and  
 respect, once and again, in *the epistles of St. PAUL*.<sup>a</sup>

BARNABAS took his nephew, *John Mark*, along with him; and  
 (after they had been recommended, unto GOD, for his blessing, by  
 the *church*, at *Antioch*,<sup>b</sup>) they sailed unto the island *Cyprus*, BAR-  
 NABAS his native country, to confirm the *christians*, and convert  
 others. And PAUL, haveing chose for his minister, or assistant, *Si-  
 las*, or *Silvanus*; (who had been one of the messengers, from the  
*church*, at *Jerusalem*, to the *church*, at *Antioch*; and who prefered  
 going along with that APOSTLE, to the going back to *Jerusalem*;)   
 And they two, haveing been, also, recommended, to GOD, for his  
 blessing, by the prayers of the *christian brethren*, at *Antioch*, (accom-  
 panied, again, perhaps, with *fasting*, and the *laying on of their hands*;)   
 they went, through some parts of *Syria*, and through *Cilicia*, PAUL's  
 native

Ver. 39. <sup>a</sup> Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11. See on Philem. ver. 24. and on 1 Pet.  
 v. 13.

Ver. 40. <sup>b</sup> St. LUKE, designing here to drop the story of BARNABAS, and  
 persue that of PAUL alone, hath not mentioned this circumstance. But, it is  
 highly probable, the *church* at *Antioch* wished them both succeſſe. And, therefore,  
 recommended both of them, together with their assistants, unto GOD, for his bless-  
 ing; before they set out, upon so great an undertaking.



native province, to establish the *christians*, and to convert others. And, as they passed along through the cities, where-ever it was proper, they delivered the *letter*, from the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, at *Jerusalem*; that such of the *devout gentiles*, as imbraced *christianity*, might not be imposed upon, or made to observe more of the *law of Moses*, than they had done, antecedent to their becoming *christians*.<sup>c</sup> For that *determination* reached to *converts*, from among the *profelytes of the gate*, where-ever they lived. And we find some, as far distant from *Jerusalem*, as *Antioch*, in *Pisidia*; and *Philippi*; and *Thessalonica*, in *Macedonia*. Nay; there seemeth, generally, to have been some of them, where-ever there was any *jewish synagogue*, or *proseucha*. Upon the reception of the *letter*, the churches were greatly confirmed in *christianity*. And their numbers increased daily. Whereas; if the *devout gentiles* had been obliged to *circumcision*, and the whole *law of Moses*, upon their imbraceing *christianity*; it would have shaken such of them, as had already received the *gospel*; and would have greatly deterred others from imbraceing the *christian religion*, because of submitting to so great and intolerable a burthen. The more moderate *jewish converts*, also, would be determined to acquiesce, and not molest their *gentile brethren*; when they considered that the *spirit of GOD* had settled the terms, on which they were to be accepted; and the APOSTLES, elders, and brethren of the *circumcision*, at *Jerusalem*, had given it, under their hands, as their *unanimous opinion* of that matter.

Ver. 41. <sup>c</sup> The author of *Miscellanea sacra* hath, with great judgment, shown, that either the two verses, *Acts* xvi. 4, 5. are misplaced, and ought to have been added to the conclusion of the xvth chapter; or (which I rather incline to) that *Acts* xvi. 1, 2, 3. ought to be read in a parenthesis, [See *Essay* iv. p. 33, &c.] And the different readings of *Acts* xv. 41. mentioned by Dr. *Mill*, confirm this observation. I have, therefore, brought ver. 4, 5. of the xvth chapter, in here. Though I am satisfied, that they delivered the *letter* to the churches, where-ever there were *profelytes of the gate*; that they might stand up for *their liberty*, and that the *jewish converts* might not attempt to abridge them of it.



## C H A P. V. S E C T. II.

St. PAUL and Silas go to Derbe and Lystra.  
 There Timothy is circumcised; and joineth them,  
 as another evangelist, or assistant to St. PAUL. Acts  
 xvi. 1, 2, 3.

An. Christi  
 50.  
 Claud. 10.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. V.  
 Sect. II.  
 Acts xvi.  
 1. **P**AUL (haveing Silas along with him) went to *Derbe* and *Lystra*, where he and BARNABAS had been, in their former apostolic journey, and had planted the christian religion. There they found Timothy; who, though he was a mere youth, had distinguished himself, among the christians. His father was a greek, or gentile; but his mother was a jewesse. Very likely his father was a devout gentile; as he had married so pious a jewesse.<sup>a</sup> His grandmother,

Ver. 1. <sup>a</sup> Dr. Mill has taken notice that the ms. called *Covel. 2.* instead of [a jewesse,] read [*χήρας, Ἰσδαίας, a widow, a jewesse.*] He has, likewise, observed that *Velefius* his mss. and two of the latin fathers, instead of [a jewesse,] read, onely, [a widow.] According to that reading, it would here be intimated, "that Timothy's father was now dead, and that his mother was a widow." But, as *Erasmus* has, most ingeniously, conjectured, that reading arose from the negligence of some transcriber; who, in his hurry, transposed the letters, in his copy of the vulgate. And so, for [*judæa, a jewesse,*] writ [*vidua, a widow.*]

This may be confirmed, by the following observations, (1.) That the words *Ἰσδαίας* and *χήρας*, in greek, are not so like one another, as *judæa* and *vidua*, in latin. And, therefore, not so likely to be mistaken, the one for the other. (2.) *Velefius* collected his various readings, not from the greek, but from 16 latin copies; which various readings he translated into greek, for fear of the inquisition, or of being suspected of *hæresie*; and placed them in the margin of his new testament. But he has often translated them very unhappily. And, thereby, he has some readings, which are not found, in any greek copy; neither are they greek, at all. — These things appear, not onely from *Wetstein's* observations; but from examining several of *Velefius* his various readings. The *Velefian* readings are, therefore, no other than the testimonies of latin copies. (3.) The ms. called *Covel. 2.* seems to have added the word, [*χήρας a widow,*] as a translation from the latin copies. And, if so, it is not singular, in doing such a thing. For some other of the greek mss. seem to have been altered, in some places, in conformity to the vulgar latin. (4.) Two of the latin fathers; namely, *Jerome* and *Austin*, instead of [a jewesse,] read, [a widow.] But none of the greek fathers are alleged, in favor of that reading. Most probably, these two latin fathers had copies of the new testament, in the vulgar latin, which so read this text. (5.) None of the most antient and most valuable mss. nor any other of the antient versions, except the vulgate, have that different reading. — From all which, *Erasmus* his conjecture seems highly probable. And the common may appear, evidently to be the true reading; especially when it is added, that Timothy's  
 mother



ther, whose name was *Lois*, and his mother, whose name was *Eunice*, being *jewesses*, and both of them very pious, they had given *Timothy* a virtuous and religious education; and had taken particular care to acquaint him with the *scriptures* of the old testament; in which he was instructed, even from his childhood. As his father was a *gentile*, and did not approve of it, *Timothy* was not circumcised, in his infancy. It hath been taken notice of, already, that *Timothy* (together with his mother and grand-mother) was, most probably, converted to *christianity*, when *PAUL* and *BARNABAS* were at *Lystra*, in their first apostolic journey.<sup>b</sup> When *PAUL* now came to *Lystra* again, among other agreeable circumstances, he found young *Timothy*, to have made a progress in *christianity*, much beyond what could have been expected, from one of his years. For he had arrived to such a degree of knowledge and piety, that he was very much taken notice of; and greatly admired, and respected; by the *christians*, in general, at *Lystra* and *Iconium*. One of such early zeal, and distinguished piety, was not to be lost in the croud. Nor would the great APOSTLE of the gentiles suffer such talents to lie buried in a napkin. No! He knew mankind too well; and had such an ardent and indefatigable zeal for propagating *christianity*; that (as *BARNABAS* had parted company; *John Mark* forsaken him, when he had very great occasion for him; and he had none but *Silas* to go along with him, and assist him; in a work, which required so many diligent and faithful laborers: — For these, and like reasons, I say,) he, with great earnestness, desired to take *Timothy*, along with him, as another evangelist, or assistant. But the APOSTLE's sagacity, and zeal, was not all. In this case, there was something supernatural. For some of the *christian prophets* (very likely, at *Lystra*,) prophesied of *Timothy's* future usefulness; and directed the APOSTLE to the choice of him, for one of his fellow-laborers, or attendants.<sup>c</sup> Thus directed by heaven, St. *PAUL* determined to take *Timothy* along with him. But first, with his own consent, he took him, and circumcised him. For *Timothy* was now of age, to have it done, with his own consent. And, if his father was dead, there was nothing to obstruct the doing it. The APOSTLE did not think it necessary; or, in the least, conducing; to *Timothy's* salvation. But he did it, to take away all occasion of offence, from the

L 2

jews,

mother is here called a *jewesse*, by way of opposition to what immediately follows; namely, "that his father was a *greek*, or *gentile*."

Ver. 2. <sup>b</sup> See above, in this history, book III. chap. ii. sect. vii. towards the end.

Ver. 3. <sup>c</sup> 1 Tim. i. 18. and iv. 14.

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An. Christi 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. II. Acts xvi. 3. *jews*, in those parts. For they, in general, knew that *Timothy's* father was a *gentile*; and that he had not been circumcised, in his infancy. — The APOSTLE would not allow *Titus* to be circumcised; because both his parents were *gentiles*. And it had been determined, in a full and unanimous assembly of APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*, that there was no necessity for such to be circumcised, upon their becoming *christians*. For, unto them, *christianity* was the perfect law of liberty, or of freedom from the law of *Moses*. But *Timothy's* mother was a *jewesse*. And it has, all along, been a rule with the *jews*, “that, (*partus sequitur ventrem*,) if the father be a *jew*, and the mother a *gentile*, the son is no *jew*, but a *gentile*. “But, though the father be a *gentile*, if the mother be a *jewesse*, “the son ought to be looked upon as a *jew*; and, as such, ought to “be circumcised.”<sup>d</sup> In such a situation, therefore, it was lawful, and proper, to do it; to take away all occasion of offence, from the *jews*, in those parts. For it was well known, that *Timothy's* father was a *gentile*; and that he had not been circumcised, in his infancy.

*Timothy* had, most likely, been baptized, when he first imbraced *christianity*; but it doeth not appear that he then received any spiritual gifts, or miraculous powers: very probably, because of his unripe age. But, as he had, since his baptism, approved himself, in a distinguishing manner, and much beyond his age; and was now pointed out, for an evangelist, by the spirit of prophecy; the APOSTLE layeth his hands upon him, and imparteth unto him the holy spirit; that is, to qualify him, for the great work, whereunto GOD, by the mouth of his prophets, had appointed, and called, him.<sup>e</sup> And, along with the APOSTLE, or soon after him, the *elders* of the church, at *Lystra*, laid their hands, also, upon *Timothy*,<sup>f</sup> (not to impart the holy spirit; for that St. PAUL himself did;<sup>g</sup> and none but APOSTLES could do it; — but) to signify their concurrence, in prayer, for the divine blessing upon him, and his future labors.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Limborch in loc. Herodotus [edit. Gale, p. 72.] represents the *Lycians*, as haveing been once called *solyimi*, & *Milyæ*; and who, in other things, generally followed the customs of the *Cretans* and *Carians*; but as haveing this peculiar, and different from all other men, “that they reckon the genealogy on the mother's side, “and not from their father's; and that, if a free woman married a slave, the children “were free; but if a free-man, or even their prince, married a foreigner, or an “harlot, his children were infamous.”

<sup>e</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6. <sup>f</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 14. <sup>g</sup> 2 Tim. i. 6.

<sup>h</sup> It ought to be observed, that ver. 4, 5. are taken into section i. of this chapter. See the note, above, on Acts xv. 41.



CHAP. V. SECT. III.

St. PAUL and his two companions, Silas and Timothy, go through Phrygia, Galatia, and Troas, in their way to Macedonia. Acts xvi. 6, — 10.

ST. PAUL, haveing Silas, before, with him, and haveing now added Timothy to his company, went through *Lycaonia*. And, when he had farther instructed and established the christians there, they passed through *Phrygia*, and the region of *Galatia*; where they had never been before. And there, also, they planted the gospel. St. LUKE hath not, in this place, taken any notice, of their preaching the gospel, there, at this time. But, from Acts xviii. 23. it plainly appears that christianity was now planted among them. For, when the APOSTLE of the gentiles passed through *Phrygia* and *Galatia*, the next time; he is said to have “confirmed, and established, such disciples, as were formerly converted.” And the epistle to the Galatians was written, soon after this, to the churches, which St. PAUL had planted, in that country.<sup>a</sup> — At *Galatia*, St. PAUL now preached the gospel; through (or with) infirmity of the flesh. That was, very probably, the bodily disorder, which made his presence mean, and his speech contemptible; and which he, elsewhere, calleth his thorn in the flesh. And yet, notwithstanding that disorder affected him so much, the Galatians did not despise him, (as others did,) upon the account of that trial in the flesh; neither did they reject the doctrine, which he preached; but received him, as if it had been an angel from GOD, or as if JESUS CHRIST himself had come among them. Nay; he beareth them record; that, if it had been practicable, they would have plucked out their own eyes, and given them to him.<sup>b</sup> However; (though he made a mean appearance, as to his person) he both worked miracles among them, and communicated to them the gifts of the holy spirit.<sup>c</sup> Which things were sufficient to procure regard.

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Ver. 6. <sup>a</sup> See Gal. i. 6. & iv. 13, &c. *Miscellanea sacra; præface*, p. 56, 57, 58. *Abstract*, p. 31. and what will be said, in this history, in the year 53. when the epistle to the Galatians cometh to be considered; namely, book iii. chap. 5. § 11.

<sup>b</sup> Gal. iv. 13, 14, 15.

<sup>c</sup> Gal. iii. 2, 3; 5.



An. Christi 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. III. Acts xvi. 6, &c. From *Galatia*, they intended to have gone and planted the *gospel* in *Asia*; that is, in *Asia propria*, or the *proconsular Asia*; which was but a small part of *Asia minor*; in which stood the city of *Ephesus*, *Miletus*; and other towns, not mentioned in the *scripture*. But, by an impulse of the *spirit*, they were hindered from going thither, at this time. For GOD designed, that they should first plant *christianity*, in *Macedonia*, and *Greece*; as knowing, very probably, that things were riper, there, for the harvest. And so *Asia propria* was reserved for St. PAUL's next *apostolic journey*. Being hindered from going to the *proconsular Asia*, they went to *Myfia*. And intended, from thence, to have gone, and preached the *gospel*, in *Bitbunia*. But the *spirit*, again, directed otherwise. Passing, therefore, through *Myfia*,<sup>d</sup> they came down to the city *Troas*; (not far from which, the famous and antient city, *Troy*, had stood; and, out of the ruins of which, this new city is said to have been built.) And there, in the night, St. PAUL had a *vision* from GOD: in which, there seemed to appear<sup>e</sup> unto him, a man, in the habit of a *Macedonian*; who approached him; and (speaking in the *Macedonian dialect*) intreated him, in an humble and ardent manner, to come over to *Macedonia*, and assist them. When St. PAUL awaked, he acquainted his companions with the *vision*.<sup>f</sup> From which, they unanimously concluded, that GOD had signified his intention, that they should go, and preach the *christian doctrine*, there.

Now St. LUKE, who wrote one of the *four gospels*, and the *Acts of the APOSTLES*, was one of St. PAUL's company. For it is said, "After the vision, we endeavored to go into *Macedonia*; concluding that the LORD had called us, to preach the *gospel*, there" I have taken notice of a different reading, *Acts xi. 28.* which intimateth, that St. LUKE was, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, together with St. PAUL, long before this time. That agreeth very well with the account, which is commonly given of him. For he is thought to have been a native of that *city*. And, as St. PAUL doeth not reckon him, among his companions of the *circumcision*, but of the *uncircumcision*;<sup>g</sup> I suppose that he was one of the *devout gentiles*, or *proselytes of the gate*, who had there imbraced the *christian religion*. For that church consisted of such. It is highly probable, that he was

Ver. 8. <sup>d</sup> It is *Διελευσίης*, in the *Cambridge manuscript*. [See Dr. Mill.]

Ver. 9. <sup>e</sup> *Ὁσεί ἀνὴρ*, according to two antient manuscripts, and the *syriac version*. [See Dr. Mill.]

Ver. 10. <sup>f</sup> See the *Cambridge manuscript*, in Dr. Mill.

<sup>g</sup> Col. iv. 10, 11. compared with ver. 12, 13, 14.



was converted to christianity, about the year 42; when BARNABAS and SAUL preached, for a long time together, in that city. And, haveing been a christian, for about eight or nine years; he now followed his father in the gospel, to Troas. From whence, he went with him, to Philippi; and was, afterwards, frequently in his company. St. PAUL, in one of his epistles, calleth him a physician; and frequently maketh a very honorable mention of him. He had been trained up, in the greek learning; and is reckoned, by some, to have wrote that language, with greater purity, than the other evangelists.

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CHAP. V. SECT. IV.

St. PAUL, together with Silas, Timothy, and LUKE, sail to Macedonia; preach the gospel, in the proseucha, at Philippi; convert Lydia; dispossesse the pythoneffe. PAUL and Silas are scourged; convert the jaylor, whilest in the prison. And, being freemen of Rome, are honorably dismissed. Acts xvi. 11, to the end of that chapter.

THIS second of St. PAUL's apostolic journeys had been thus far by land. But, now, they took ship; and sailed, with a prosperous gale, to Samothracia, an island in the Ægean sea. And, the next day, they sailed again; and arrived at Neapolis, a city of Macedonia; through which they passed, without preaching the gospel, there, at this time. From Neapolis, they sailed, up the river Strymon, to Philippi; which was a city, or town, of the first division of Macedonia, and a roman colony. It had, more antiently, gone, by the name of Crenides, or Crenidæ: probably, from the springs, or fountains, which arose there; it being, according to Ap-  
pian, built upon an hill.<sup>a</sup> It had, afterwards, the name of [Δάτος]  
Datus;

Ver. 12. <sup>a</sup> See Mr. Pierce's synopsis of the epistle to the Philippians; and Le-Clerc, on Phil. i. 1.



An. Christi <sup>51.</sup> <sup>Claud. 11.</sup> <sup>Book III.</sup> <sup>Ch. V.</sup> <sup>Sect. IV.</sup> <sup>Acts xvi.</sup> <sup>12.</sup> *Datus*; because of the gold mines, which were near it.<sup>b</sup> And, lastly, it was called *Philippi*; from *Philip*, king of *Macedonia*, the father of *Alexander the great*; who very much improved the town, and increased the number of it's inhabitants: partly for the sake of the gold mines, there; and partly to make it a good fence against the *Thracians*.<sup>c</sup> It was a city, upon the borders of *Thrace*; and, by some of the antient *geographers*, was reckoned to belong to that country.<sup>d</sup> But St. LUKE saith, that it now belonged to *Macedonia*. As it stood upon the borders of those two countries, no wonder that it was sometimes ascribed to one, and sometimes to the other. But, as St. LUKE, who was upon the spot, wrote, not long after his being there; and is so fair an *historian*; it might reasonably have been supposed, that, (according to his assertion) it now belonged to *Macedonia*; if there had been no other antient testimony to confirm it. But the speech of *Paulus Æmilius*, related by *Livy*, is a sufficient confirmation of St. LUKE's assertion. For he ascribeth all, between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*, to *Macedonia*.<sup>e</sup> And *Philipi* lay between those two rivers. St. LUKE calleth this city, *Philippi*, a colony. And, as he here maketh use of the *latin* word *κολώνια*, instead of the proper *greek* term *ἀποικία*; it is most likely, he designed to intimate, that it was made a colony, by the *romans*; and not by the *greeks*. Which is farther confirmed, from *ver. 21.* where he representeth the *Philippians*, as calling themselves *romans*. From some antient coins and inscriptions, compared with the *roman historians*, it appeareth, that *Julius Cæsar* first planted the colony there; and that *Augustus Cæsar* afterwards augmented it; by sending thither some of the people of those towns, in *Italy*, who had opposed him, and fallen in with *Mark Antony*.<sup>f</sup> This was the nature of colonies; [according to *Agellius*, l. 16. c. 13.] "They neither came, from abroad, into the city of *Rome*; nor did they grow upon their own roots, where they were settled. But they were, as it were, propagated, from the city; and had all the laws and customs of the people of *Rome*, and not of their own makeing."

*Livy*

<sup>b</sup> Hence came the proverb, *Δάτῳ ἀγαθῶν* *Datus*, which abounds with good things. [See *Hammond* on *Philip. i. 1.*]

<sup>c</sup> *Vid.* Appian. de bello civili, l. 4.

<sup>d</sup> *Vid.* Pompon. Mel. l. 11. c. 2. & Pliny, nat. hist. l. 4. c. 11. laudat. apud *Hammond. in Phil. i. 1.*

<sup>e</sup> Lib. 45. c. 29.

<sup>f</sup> Dion. l. 51. p. 445. C, D.



Livy<sup>8</sup> informeth us, that *Paulus Æmilius*, who conquered *Macedonia*, and brought it into subjection to the *romans*, ordered it to be divided into *four parts*, or *regions*; and that one of these, and the first part, should be all, that lay between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*. In that *first part*, and between those two rivers, stood *Philippi*. But, as *Livy* hath informed us, in the same chapter, *Amphipolis* was the chief city of the first part, or first division; and not *Philippi*. Neither was *Philippi* the first city, which they came to; when they sailed from *Troas*, to *Macedonia*. For that was *Neapolis*; as *St. LUKE* hath here observed. [ver. 11.] We ought, therefore, to follow *Erasmus* his notes on verse 11. and *Castellio's* translation of verse 12; and call it a city, of the first part of *Macedonia*.<sup>h</sup> In this city, *St. PAUL*, and his companions, tarried, for some time. It should seem that there were but few *jews* settled there; and those mostly women, who could not afford to have a *synagogue*. But the *jews*, where they could not have a *synagogue*; (either, because they were few, or poor; or were prohibited by the magistrate;) there they used to have an *oratory*, or a *proseucha*; that is, an open court for prayer; which they commonly built upon the sea-side, or upon the banks of a river.<sup>i</sup> Such of the *jews*, as lived in, or nigh, the city *Jerusalem*, went up frequently to worship, at the *temple*. Though they, also, had a great number of *synagogues*. And, where it was inconvenient to go to the courts of the *temple*, they frequented them. In like manner, the *jews*, in more distant places, built *synagogues*, and worshiped *GOD* there. But, where they could have no *synagogue*; there they built open courts, like the *roman forums*; or rather, like one of the courts of the *temple*. And, there, they used to assemble, for their devotion; especially on the *sabbath-day*.<sup>k</sup> Some of the *latin poets* make mention of the *proseuchaes*.<sup>l</sup> And, into one

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<sup>8</sup> Lib. 45. c. 29.

<sup>h</sup> It is a mistake to say, (as *Dr. Doddridge* has said) that the *syriac* version and *Chrysostom* read *πρώτης* for *πρώτη τῆς*. But, very probably, *πρώτη τῆς*, through the inadvertency of some transcriber, repeteing the last syllable, crept in, for *πρώτης*. And then the reading of the original will be agreeable to antient history. And the translation as above. [See *Mr. Pierce's synopsis of the epistle to the Phillippians*.]

Ver. 13. <sup>i</sup> *Dr. Lardner*, [in his *credibility of the gospel history*, part i. p. 140, &c. 2d edition; p. 235, &c. 3d edition,] has shown, not onely that it was customary, for the *jews*, to worship, by the side of a river, or lake; or by the sea-side; but that it was, with them, a matter of choice; and that they preferred such places, as more pure and holy. [Compare, with this, *Acts* xxi. 5. See also, *Vitranga, de veteri synagoga*, p. 217, &c. & *Wolffius in loc.*]

<sup>k</sup> See *Prideaux his connection*, &c. part i. p. 387, &c. 4th edition, 8vo. 1718.

<sup>l</sup> *Juvenal*, Sat. 3. v. 215. — “Ede ubi consistas, in quâ te quæro proseuchâ?”



An. Christi of them, OUR SAVIOR is said to have gone, and spent a whole  
 51. night, in prayer, and other acts of devotion, before he chose the  
 Claud. 11. twelve APOSTLES, from among the multitude of his *disciples*.<sup>m</sup> Those  
 Book III. *proseuchaes* differed from the *synagogues*, in several particulars. For  
 Ch. V. (1.) In the *synagogues*, the *prayers* were offered up, in public forms;  
 Sect. IV. in common, for the whole congregation. But, in the *proseuchaes*,  
 Acts xvi. 13. they prayed, as in the courts of the *temple*; every one apart, and by  
 himself. (2.) The *synagogues* were covered houses. But the *pro-*  
*seuchaes* were open courts; like the *forums*; which were inclosures,  
 open at the top; where antiently, at *Rome*, and in other cities, un-  
 der *democratical governments*, the people used to assemble, for trans-  
 acting the business and affairs of the public. Or like the court of  
 the women, before the *temple*, at *Jerusalem*. (3.) *Synagogues* were,  
 generally, built within the cities, to which they did belong. Where-  
 as; the *proseuchaes* were, commonly, out of the city; either by a  
 river, or by the sea-side; and often upon an hill, or mountain. The  
*proseucha*, in which OUR SAVIOR is said to have continued all night,  
 was upon a mountain. And the *high places*, mentioned in the old  
 testament, seem to have been somewhat of the same nature with  
 the *proseuchaes*. For those *high places* were not condemned; but  
 onely, when they were made use of, for *idolatrous*, or *schismatical*,  
*worship*; as appeareth from their being frequented, by *prophets*, and  
*good men*, without any hint of disapprobation.<sup>n</sup> And what con-  
 firms this, is, that the *proseuchaes* had groves of trees, in or about  
 them; (in the same manner, as the *high places* had;) under which  
 they could shelter themselves, from the scorching of the sun, or  
 from a sudden shower of rain. The *sanctuary of the LORD*, in  
 which *Joshua* set up his pillar, under the oak, or oaken grove, in  
*Sichem*, was (very probably) a *proseucha*. And it is plain, from  
 the text, that it had a grove of oaks, in or nigh it.<sup>o</sup> The *proseu-*  
*chaes*, which *Philo* maketh mention of, nigh *Alexandria*, had such  
 groves, in or about them. For he complaineth that the *Alexandri-*  
*ans*, in a tumult, which they made, against the *jews*, there, had cut  
 down the trees of their *proseuchaes*.<sup>p</sup> And the *proseucha*, at *Rome*,  
 in *Ægeria's* grove, was of the same sort with those at *Alexandria*.<sup>q</sup>  
 The *psalmist*, where he maketh mention of green olive-trees, in the  
 house

<sup>m</sup> Luke vi. 12. We have translated the words, "He continued all night in prayer to GOD." But they ought to have been translated, "He continued all night in a *proseucha* of GOD;" that is, in an house, or rather a court, for prayer to GOD.

<sup>n</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 19. and x. 5, &c.  
 ad Caium, p. 1011, A.

<sup>o</sup> Josh. xxiv. 26.

<sup>p</sup> In Legatione

<sup>q</sup> Juvenal, Sat. 3.



house of GOD, doeth (perhaps) refer to such a *proseucha*. And such an one was antiently in *Mispa*; as the author of the first book of *Maccabees* hath informed us.\* These were, most likely, some of the *moade el*; [Psal. lxxiv. 8.] which ought not to have been rendered *synagogues*; but onely, the assemblies of GOD; or the places, where the people used, then, to assemble, for religious worship. For the *synagogues* do not appear to have been so antient, as the time of writing that *psalm*. In the days of OUR LORD, and his APOSTLES, *synagogues* were more common; and the *proseuchae* but few. Though the word, *proseucha*, is sometimes used for a *synagogue*, both by *Josephus* and *Philo*. And it appeareth, from the latter, that the service of the *synagogue* was performed, in some of the *proseuchae*, at *Alexandria*. Yet there was commonly a distinction still preserved, between the *synagogues* and the *proseuchae*. And the place, where the *jews* assembled, for their religious worship, at *Philippi*, was of the latter sort. St. PAUL, and his assistants, being well acquainted with the custom of the *jews*, waited, at *Philippi*, 'till the sabbath-day. And, then, they went, out of the city, to the banks of the river *Strymon*; where it had been thought fit, that the *proseucha* should be, according to a very usual custom of the *jews*, who chose the sea-side, or the banks of a river, for the places of divine worship.† And (though the *proseuchae* were commonly used, onely for private prayers; and there was no reading of the law, or the prophets, in them; nor any discourses usually made, there; — yet) they sate down, after the manner of the *jewish doctors*; and discoursed, concerning the gospel doctrine, to the women, who were assembled, in that *proseucha*; who were partly *jews*, and partly *profelytes of the gate*. For it was the custom of the great APOSTLE of the gentiles, every where, to begin with such; and first to offer the gospel to them. Among others, there was present, at that time, one *Lydia*; whose business was to buy and sell purple. She was a native of the city of *Thyatira*, and a *profelyte of the gate*; that is, one, who worshiped the true GOD; though she did not conform to the *jewish law*, in all it's rites and ceremonies. She heard St. PAUL with uncommon attention. And (through the goodness of GOD, in setting, before her, the light of the gospel, with sufficient evidence,) her heart was affected, and her mind convinced of the truth and excellence of the christian religion.

M 2

\* 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

† See note i, above, on this same verse, ὡς νομιζουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι. Ut mos Romanis erat, Herodian. L. vi. sub init. Oxon. p. 204. Boecler. p. 254.

An. Christi  
51.  
Claud. 11.  
Book III.  
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Acts xvi.  
13.



An. Christi *ligion.*<sup>t</sup> Which ſhe immediately imbraced. And ſhe was baptized,  
 51. and her whole family along with her. And ſo pleaſed was ſhe, at  
 Claud. 11. hearing theſe glad tideings of ſalvation, and being admitted into  
 Book III. full communion with the *church* and people of GOD; that ſhe in-  
 Ch. V. treated the APOSTLE, and his *aſſiſtents*, (if they judged her to be a  
 Sect. IV. ſincere convert, and worthy of ſuch a favor,) to come, and take  
 Acts xvi. up their lodgings, at her houſe. And ſhe inſiſted ſo much upon it,  
 14, &c. that ſhe would take no denial.

It happened, one day, as St. PAUL and his attendents were go-  
 ing, from *Lydia's* houſe, to the *oratory*, or *proſeucha*, by the river's  
 ſide, that a maid-ſervant met them; who was, perhaps, a *lunatic*  
*perſon*; and was reckoned, by the people, to be poſſeſſed with the  
 ſpirit of *Pythian Apollo*, or a *ſpirit of divination*. That *damſel*, have-  
 ing heard their character, (which, moſt probably, was become the  
 common talk of the town) turned back, and followed after them;  
 crying aloud, and ſaying: "Theſe men are the ſervants of the moſt  
 "high GOD; who are come hither, to ſhow unto us the way to  
 "ſalvation." And, in that manner, ſhe followed, and diſturbed,  
 them, ſeveral days. The APOSTLE, who valued not the teſtimony  
 of evil ſpirits, or *lunatic perſons*; at firſt ſlighted her, and took little  
 or no notice of what ſhe ſaid. But, when he ſaw, that ſhe con-  
 tinued to diſturb them, he was troubled. And, as ſhe was, one  
 day, following them, to the *proſeucha*; and crying out, as uſual;  
 he (by an impulse of the *ſpirit* of GOD) turned about, and ſaid, to  
 the *ſpirit*, by whoſe inſpiration ſhe was ſuppoſed to divine; "In  
 the name, and by the power, of JESUS CHRIST, I command thee  
 to come out of her." And, that moment, there was an end of her  
*lunacy*, and of her *pretended divination*. The *damſel* had, before  
 that, brought in a conſiderable revenue to her maſters, by her pre-  
 tences to *ſooth ſaying* and *divination*. But, when they ſaw, that their  
 gainful trade was at an end, they were excedeingly enraged. And  
 (leaveing *Luke* and *Timothy*, thoſe two young *evangelists*, as leſſe con-  
 ſiderable) they ſeized upon PAUL and SILAS, the two principal per-  
 ſons; and draged them away, to the *forum*, the place of public ju-  
 dicature. Preſenting them to the *duumviri*, the magiſtrates of the  
*roman city*, or *colony*; and, hideing their own private reſentments,  
 under the mask of public zele; they accuſed them, in a ſevere  
 manner, ſaying: "Theſe men, though they are *jews* and ſtrangers,  
 "do excedeingly diſturb this our city; by attempting, contrary to  
 "the



“ the *roman laws*, to introduce *jewish customs*, and a *new religion*.  
 “ For they teach laws, and institutions; which it would not be law-  
 “ ful for us, as we are a *roman colony*, to receive, and observe.”  
 This speech incensed the populace against them. And the too cre-  
 dulous magistrates (even before they had carefully examined into the  
 matter) used them shamefully, and with cruelty; tearing off their  
 cloathes: and ordering the lictors to beat them, with rods. Which  
 they did, immediately, and with great severity. To this, the APO-  
 STLE himself alludeth; [1 *Theff.* ii. 2. and again, 2 *Cor.* xi. 23.]  
 where he, reciteing some of his many sufferings, intimates, that  
 “ he had received stripes above measure.” And this is, likewise, one  
 of the three times, to which he refereth, when he saith, [ver. 25.]  
 “ Thrice was I beaten with rods.” After the lictors had given them  
 many stripes, the *duumviri* threw them into prison; giving the jay-  
 lor a very strict charge to keep them safe and secure. He under-  
 stood their meaning. And, therefore, he put them into the inner-  
 most part of the prison, the place of the greatest strength and secu-  
 rity. And, to make all as safe as possible, he likewise fastened  
 their feet in the stocks; which was a very uneasie, painful posture.  
 They were as little daunted, at suffering; as elevated, when they  
 were carested; and might have been even adored, for their miraculous  
 cures. This was true courage, and proper *fortitude*; a composure  
 and firmnesse of mind, ariseing from a sense of haveing done their  
 their duty, and being accepted by the supreme ruler of heaven and  
 earth. From this conscioussnesse of their integrity, and sense of the  
 divine favor, PAUL and SILAS, (though they had been lately scourged,  
 with great severity; and were now in a dungeon, in a most uneasie  
 situation, in the stocks;) at mid-night, when such wounds and tor-  
 ments give the greatest uneasinesse; instead of uttering sighs and  
 groans; or shrieking with the anguish; they prayed; and sang hymns  
 of praise and thanksgiveing, unto *almighty GOD*; so loudly and so  
 chearfully, that all the prisoners heard them. For they rejoiced,  
 that they were honored with suffering for the sake of CHRIST.  
 And, therefore, they sang their hymns of praise. While they were  
 at this extatic devotion, they had a *miraculous* and extraordinary to-  
 ken of the divine acceptance; as remarkable, as the sending fire  
 down from heaven, to consume the sacrifices of old. For, on a  
 sudden, there was a great earthquake; which made the very foun-  
 dations of the prison shake under them. Upon which, all the doors  
 burst open, in a moment; and the chains and fetters fell off, from  
 the prisoners, at once. The jaylor was awaked, by the noise, in  
 the

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Claud. 11.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect. IV.

Acts xvi.

21, &c.



An. Christi the utmost consternation. And, when he found all the doors of  
 51. the prison open; though he had shut them, in the evening, with so  
 Claud. 11. much care; he drew his sword, and was going to stab himself;  
 Book III. as thinking that all the prisoners were fled: and as knowing, that,  
 Ch. V. by the *roman law*, if one prisoner escaped, the jaylor was to suffer  
 Sect. IV. what the prisoner was to have suffered. When, therefore, he ap-  
 Acts xvi. prehended, that *all* the prisoners were fled; and remembered what  
 27, &c. strict orders he had received, the day before, concerning PAUL and  
 SILAS; he was afraid of the most cruel treatment, from the magis-  
 trates, for having executed their orders no better. But St. PAUL,  
 like a true *christian*, and a benevolent and brave man, was tender  
 and solicitous about the life of one, who, but a few hours before,  
 had treated him with such rigor. And, perceiveing that he was a-  
 bout to lay violent hands upon himself, he cried, with a loud voice,  
 and in an earnest manner, "Do yourself no harm. Your prisoners  
 "are all safe. And we would not go out, 'till we were legally dis-  
 "missed; though the doors were open." Upon hearing this, the  
 jaylor called for lights; and rushed into the prison, with trembling  
 and astonishment. And, with the greatest veneration, prostrated  
 himself, at the feet of his two prisoners, PAUL and SILAS. And  
 (as knowing somewhat of their character; and being induced by  
 the miraculous earthquake; and the tenderness, which they had  
 shown to him, in tarrying, after the doors were opened: — Being  
 induced, I say, from such considerations, to believe that they were  
*extraordinary persons*, sent of GOD, as they themselves professed, to  
 teach men the way of salvation) he brought them, out of that dun-  
 geon, which was in the innermost part of the prison; and asked  
 them, the most important question, that ever was proposed: "Sirs!  
 "what must I do to be saved?" Such a disposition and inquiry was  
 what they, of all things, sought after. They, therefore, readily  
 answered: "Imbrace the *christian religion*. And it will bring you,  
 "and yours, into the sure way to eternal salvation." After which,  
 they proceeded to teach him, and all his family, the *christian doctrine*,  
 more particularly; and laid, before them, the proofs and evidences  
 of it, as far as the time and circumstances would permit. The re-  
 sult of all which, was, that the *jaylor* was convinced, and imbraced  
*christianity*. And, as a proof of his altered sentiments, he took  
 them, that very hour of the night, and washed the stripes, which  
 they had received, the day before; and then, he, and his whole fa-  
 mily, were all *baptized*, immediately; as the *converts* to *christianity*  
 commonly were, in that *truly primitive and apostolic age*. For that  
 had



had been the way, by which the *jews* used to receive whole families of the *beatbens*, when they became full *profelytes* to the *jewish* religion. And OUR SAVIOR had appointed it, as the way of initiating persons into the *christian church*. The *jews* would naturally have inquired of *John the baptist*, "What the meaning of *baptism* was?" and not, "Why he *baptized*; though he professed that he was not "the *messiah*?" if it had not been a *rite*, which they themselves had made use of, before that; when they received *profelytes* into their church. And OUR SAVIOR, in like manner, would not have commanded his APOSTLES, "Go, and *baptize* all nations;" without explaining what he meant, by *baptizing* them: unless it had been a thing well known; and which they had no need to have explained to them. It is very remarkable, that we have two instances, in this one chapter, of whole households being, in this manner, and at once, received into the *christian church*. And (I think) such expressions, [as *Lydia's* being *baptized*, and her house; and the *jaylor*, and all his family,] cannot be understood, with their proper emphasis; unless we suppose them to be allusions to such a remarkable and well-known custom."

But to procede: The *jaylor*, now, no longer feared the resentment of the *magistrates*. But with the *profession*, had acquired the fortitude, of a *christian*. Bringing PAUL and SILAS into his own house, and spreading a table for them, he entertained them, as well as he was able; greatly rejoicing in the happy change: in that he, and all his family, had forsaken *idolatry*; believed in the one true GOD, and imbraced the religion of JESUS; which was so excellent, in itself; and so miraculously, and in such an extraordinary manner, attested.

The *duumviri*, who had ordered PAUL and SILAS to be beat and imprisoned, without a legal trial, or any crime, seem to have had a more disturbed night, than their innocent prisoners. Very probably, they had since reflected, in a more cool manner, upon their miraculously curing the *pythonesse*. And (according to the reading of two antient manuscripts) they had felt the earthquake, and

Ver. 33. "Agreeable to this, was the practice of *Abraham*, with respect to the initiating rite of *circumcision*. Gen. xvii. 26, 27. For the sacred historian, having given an account of the *circumcision* of *Ishmael*, he adds, "In the self-same day, "was *Abraham* circumcised; and *Ishmael*, his son. And all the men of his house; "borne in the house; and bought with money, of the stranger; were circumcised "with him." That this *jaylor* was not the same with *Stephanas of Corinth*, (as the greek expositors phansyed,) See on chap. xviii. 4.

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33. &c.



An. Christi and were terrified thereby.\* But, whether that *reading* be genuine,  
 51. or no; before the next morning, they appear to have been very sen-  
 Claud. 11. sible, that they had gone beyond their commission; and that they  
 Book III. were in danger of being called to an account, by their *superiors*, for  
 Ch. V. their illegal and rash proceedings. For the *jews* were, generally,  
 Sect. IV. through the whole *roman empire*, allowed the free exercise of their  
 Acts xvi. religion; and to make as many *profelytes*, as they could, by fair and  
 35. &c. legal methods. And the *christians* were thus far looked upon, as a  
 sect of the *jews*; and had the same privileges. The conversion,  
 therefore, of the *jaylor*, and his family, (which happened in the  
 night) was scarce over; when, early the next morning, and before  
 they had heard any thing, from the *jaylor*, or his family; or known  
 that the men were *romans*; the *magistrates* were sensible that they  
 had done wrong; and sent the *beadles*, or *lictors*, to the prison;  
 with orders to the *jaylor*, that the two men (PAUL and SILAS)  
 should be released. Upon this, the *jaylor* went, with great joy, to  
 PAUL, and told him, what message he had received, from the *ma-*  
*gistrates*. Withall, exhorting them to lay hold of the favor offered;  
 and go, while they might do it, with peace and safety. But PAUL  
 and SILAS, though of the humble and charitable spirit of *christians*,  
 were not for a *tame and passive obedience to tyrants*, in such actions,  
 as were arbitrary and illegal; especially, when they had an oppor-  
 tunity to right themselves. And, therefore, they insisted upon their  
 privileges, as being *freemen of Rome*. For such, by the *roman laws*,  
 could neither be bound, nor beaten with rods.<sup>y</sup> St. PAUL, there-  
 fore, (considering what a vindication of them, and of their inno-  
 cence, it would be, in the account of the people, that the *duumviri*  
 should publicly acknowlege their crime; and what credit it might  
 bring to the *christian doctrine*, which had been so lately, and so un-  
 justly, reflected upon, in that city; —) answered the *lictors*, in the  
 following manner: “What! do your *magistrates* beat us publicly,  
 “without any legal trial, though we are *freemen of Rome*; and im-  
 “prison us? And then (after all) think to thrust us out, in a pri-  
 “vate

Ver. 35. \* See the *Cambridge*, and one of *Stephens* his *manuscripts*, mentioned by  
 Dr. *Mill*.

Ver. 37. <sup>y</sup> *Cicero*, l. 5. in *Verrem*. § 66, vel n. 170. “*Facinus est vinciri*  
 “*civem Romanum*; scelus verberari:” “It is a crime to bind a freeman of *Rome*;  
 “but a much greater to scourge him.” “*Porcia lex virgas ab omnium civium Ro-*  
 “*manorum corpore amovit*:” “The *Porcian law* permits not a citizen of *Rome* to  
 “be whipped with rods.” *Id. pro Rabirio*. See Dr. *Lardner*, as quoted in the next  
 “note; & *Le Clerc*, on *Acts* xxii. 25.



"vate manner, as if we had broke prison, and run away?" No, An.Christi  
 "indeed! We insist upon our privileges, and the reparation of our 51.  
 "honor. And will not go out, 'till they themselves come, and ac- Claud. 11.  
 "knowlege their offence; and conduct us out; thus vindicateing our Book III.  
 "innocence, in as public and honorable a manner, as they have Ch. V.  
 "treated us basely and unjustly." When the *magistrates* knew, that Sect. IV.  
 they were *freemen of Rome*, their concern was still the more increased. Acts xvi.  
 37, &c.  
 Upon which, they came, with all speed, to the prison, and several  
 of their friends along with them; makeing an apology for their rash  
 conduct; desiring them to put up the affront. And, waiting up-  
 on them, in a respectful manner, they conducted them out of the  
 prison, and humbly begged of them to depart out of their city.<sup>a</sup>

PAUL and SILAS, being thus honorably dismissed, went to *Lydia's*  
 house; where *Luke*, *Timothy*, and the other *christians* were (very pro-  
 bably) waiting to receive them. Which they did, with great joy. And,  
 when they had seen the converts, which they had made there; and  
 related to them what had happened, the night before; and how  
 honorably they were dismissed; and renewed their exhortations  
 to them, to persevere in the *christian faith*, (notwithstanding the  
 treatment, which they had met with,) they took their leave of  
 them; and peaceably departed, to preach the *gospel*, in other  
 places.

## CHAP. V. SECT. V.

*St. PAUL and his companions go, and preach at  
 Theſſalonica, and Berea, with succeſſe, but are  
 persecuted, by the unbelieving jews. St. PAUL  
 conducted to Athens. Acts xvii. 1, — 15.*

**A** *Mphipolis* and *Apollonia*, were two cities of *Macedonia*.<sup>b</sup> The  
 first was built, by *Cimon*, the *Athenian*; who sent ten thou-  
 sand *Athenians*, as a colony thither. It stood, in an island of the  
 VOL. II. N river

<sup>a</sup> See Dr. Lardner's *credibility*, &c. part i. p. 294. 2d edition; p. 401; 498, &c. 3d edition.

Ver. 39. <sup>a</sup> The *Cambridge manuscript*, greek and latin, and one of *Stephens* his *manuscripts*, have a large addition to this purpose, [See Dr. *Mill* on ver. 38.]

Ver. 1. <sup>b</sup> *Cornel. Nep.* in vit. *Cimon.* c. 2.



An. Christi river *Strymon*, and had the name of *Amphipolis*, from the river's running on both sides of the city.<sup>b</sup> The latter is mentioned by *Cæsar* and *Strabo*; and called, by *Ptolemy*, *Mygdonia*. It was a colony of *Corinthians* and *Corcyreans*, nigh the sea-side.

St. Claud. 11.

Book III. Ch. V.

Sect. V.

Acts xvii.

1, &c.

St. LUKE seemeth to have gone no farther than *Philippi*, with the APOSTLE, at this time. But *Silas* and *Timothy* still accompanied him. And, passing through those two cities, they came to *Thessalonica*, another celebrated city, and the metropolis, of that part of *Macedonia*; very famous for it's origin, situation, and amplitude. It was a maritime town; remarkable for it's trade and commerce; in which, many *jews* had settled. It stood upon the *Thermaian bay*, and was antiently called *Thermæ*. But, being rebuilt, and enlarged, by *Philip*, the father of *Alexander the great*, upon his victory over the *Thessalians*, it was, in memory of the fact, called *Thessalonica*, which signifieth the victory of *Thessalia*. It is now, by a corrupt pronunciation, called *Saloniki*; and is a maritime, trading town; in the possession of the *Turks*. — Upon their arriveal, they found that the *jews* had a *synagogue* there,<sup>c</sup> though there was none at *Philippi*, nor (very probably) at *Amphipolis*, or *Apollonia*. Into that *synagogue*, at *Thessalonica*, St. PAUL went; (according to his constant custom; wherever there was a *synagogue* of the *jews*) and, for three sabbath-days successively, he discoursed with the *jews*, and *profelytes of the gate*, who attended the *synagogue* service: confirming what he said, from the *scriptures* of the old testament; laying open the meaning of those *sacred writings*, and showing them evidently, that, according to the *antient prophecies*, the *messiah* was to suffer; and even to undergo a violent death: though the nation of the *jews* did, then, so generally despise a *suffering messiah*.<sup>d</sup> However; he likewise showed them, that, as he was to reign *for-ever*, he was, also, to rise again, from the dead; and so to enter upon, and rule over, his kingdom; and that, as all those *prophecies* centered in *JESUS of Nazareth*, (in whose name he preached,) and in him alone; therefore, he must be the promised and long-expected *messiah*. — Some of the *jews* laid aside their *præjudices*, yielding to the evidence, and imbracing the *christian doctrine*. And of the *devout gentiles*, a great multitude. And of the *matrons*, or women of distinction, not a few.

Either

<sup>b</sup> *Thucydides*, l. 4.

<sup>c</sup> "ὅπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων." "Where was the *synagogue* of the *jews*." The only *synagogue*, perhaps, which they had, in *Macedonia*.

Ver. 3. <sup>d</sup> *Isa. liii. Dan. ix. 26.*



Either the *idolatrous gentiles* had flocked to the *ſynagogue*, after the firſt ſabbath-day; induced by the rumor of thoſe *new teachers* being come to the city; (which was the caſe at *Antioch*, in *Piſidia*:<sup>c</sup>) or elſe, upon the oppoſition, which the APOSTLE had, for three ſabbath-days, met with, at the *ſynagogue*, from the body of the *jews*, there, he had left them; and taught in ſome other public place; perhaps, at the houſe of *Jaſon*; as he did at *Ephesus*, in the ſchool of *Tyrannus*;<sup>f</sup> and, as he ſeems to have done, at *Corinth*, in the houſe of *Juſtus*.<sup>g</sup> I am apt to believe, indeed, that the latter was the caſe; becauſe St. LUKE hath taken no notice of the *idolatrous gentiles* frequenting the *ſynagogue*, nor of the indignation of the *jews*; which they were ready to ſhow, upon all ſuch occaſions. However; it is evident that St. PAUL and his aſſiſtents tarried much longer, than three weeks, at *Theſſalonica*. For they preached the *gospel* to the *idolatrous gentiles*; and ſeem to have made a conſiderable number of converts among them. And, “whileſt the APOSTLE was at *Theſſalonica*, the generous *Philippians* ſent preſents, “*once and again*, to him and his companions, to ſupply their neceſſities.” [*Phil.* iv. 16.] Moreover; they themſelves, alſo, labored, with great diligence, night and day, that they might preach the *gospel* to the *Theſſalonians*, gratis; and not burthen any of them.” [*1 Theſſ.* ii. 9.] Surely; it can hardly be thought that, in *three weeks time*, the *Philippians* would ſend preſents, *once and again*; or that the APOSTLE and his aſſiſtents could have had any occaſion, ſo diligently to have labored, with their own hands, for a ſubſiſtence, for ſo ſhort a time; if the *Philippians* had ſent, ſo often, to ſupply their wants. — But the numerous converſion of the *idolatrous gentiles* might, alone, have induced us to ſuppoſe, that their ſtay at *Theſſalonica* was conſiderable. For “the APOSTLE himſelf addreſſes that church; as having, in general, turned from lifeleſſe idols, and fictitious gods, to worſhip the living and true GOD, “and to an expectation of JESUS CHRIST’s coming, from heaven, “at laſt, as ſavior and judge. And they did it, ſo readily, and in ſuch great numbers, as that the ſurrounding countries were filled “with aſtoniſhment.” [*1 Theſſ.* i. 7, &c.] And (as there is nothing ſaid, throughout the *two epiſtles*, which St. PAUL wrote, afterwards, to the *Theſſalonians*, peculiarly, either to, or of, the *jewiſh converts*; and nothing peculiarly to, or of, the converts from among the devout gentiles,) it ſhould ſeem that the *chriſtian church*, at *Theſſalonica*,

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N 2

Ver. 4. <sup>c</sup> Acts xiii. 44.

<sup>f</sup> Acts xix. 9.

<sup>g</sup> Acts xviii. 6, 7.



An. Christi <sup>51.</sup> *salonica*, consisted chiefly of converts from among the idolatrous gentiles. However; I acknowledge that there were some jewish converts, Claud. 11. in that city; and a great many from among the devout gentiles. Who Book III. seem to have imbraced christianity, soon after the APOSTLE came Ch. V. thither. Though, afterwards; he made a much more numerous Sect. V. conversion, among the idolatrous gentiles. And I suppose that all Acts xvii. 4. the christians, at Thessalonica, assembled together, for religious worship, as one church, without difference or distinction. — St LUKE, in the history of St. PAUL's residence there, at this time, hath not, indeed, given us any particular account of the conversion of the idolatrous gentiles; neither hath he so much as intimated any thing of St. PAUL, or his assistants, preaching to them. Perhaps, he thought it needlesse; as having such frequent occasions to mention the conversion of idolatrous gentiles, throughout the course of St. PAUL's apostolic journies; and so much studying brevity, as not to take notice of a fact, which could afford no new observations. However; St. LUKE has given us many instances, of St. PAUL's preaching to idolatrous gentiles, elsewhere. And St. PAUL, in his first epistle to the Thessalonians, has planely intimated, that he and his fellow-laborers had converted a number of such; when they planted the gospel, at Thessalonica.

St. PAUL worked miracles, at Thessalonica; and exercised spiritual gifts himself, as well as imparted spiritual gifts and miraculous powers, unto the christians there, by the laying on of his hands. [1 Thess. i. 5, 6. and v. 19, 20, 21.] From St. LUKE's takeing no notice, of these things being done, at Thessalonica, it seemeth as if they were things of course; or nothing but what were commonly done, every where, where-ever the APOSTLE planted a christian church. And that St. LUKE's designed brevity would not permit him to mention any miracles, but what were great and uncommon; or such as had remarkable and extraordinary effects. And (that we may not have occasion, frequently, to repeat these reflections) we shall find, as we procede, in the history, that St. LUKE hath not taken any notice, of the miracles worked, and the gifts conferred, by the APOSTLE of the gentiles, at Corinth: though it is evident, from St. PAUL's epistles to the Corinthians, (which he was obliged to write, in his own vindication,) that that church abounded with spiritual gifts and miraculous powers. And it is the plainest indication of the great modesty of the sacred writers; that, instead of inlargeing, or takeing all occasions to mention the miracles, which were actually worked; they have contented themselves with



with giving a particular account of some few; and have, with design, avoided the mention of much the greatest number.

The *miracles*, which they worked, at *Thessalonica*, together with their holy lives; and open, disinterested behavior; and their plain, faithful, indefatigable, and affectionate, preaching the *gospel*; brought in many converts. And, with so much readinesse and alacrity, did numbers imbrace the *christian faith*; that (though the unbelieving jews raged, and exasperated others against them) they became patterns of zeale and fortitude, unto all the *christians*, and unto such as were disposed to turn *christians*, throughout *Macedonia*, north-ward; and *Achaia*, south-ward.

When the unbelieving jews, in *Thessalonica*, saw what progresse St. PAUL and his assistants made, and how much they succeeded; they were full of envy and indignation. And, taking along with them certain loose, profligate, fellows; such as the *lictors*, or beaules, or some of the vile creatures belonging to the *forum*: [For the *forum* was like many of our market-houses; that is, both a place of trade, and a court of judicature. — Haveing collected such a mob;] they put the city in a tumult: and broke, violently, into the house of *Jason*. He was, perhaps, a *jewish christian*; at whose house, PAUL, and his companions, commonly lodged. Their view, was, to have seized them; and to have brought them out to the populace: that they might have used them at their mercy. But, not finding the APOSTLE, and his two assistants, there, they draged away *Jason* himself, and some others of the *christians*; and hurried them to the rulers of the city. [For that was all the jews could safely do, as it was a *gentile city*, and they had not the civil power in their own hands.] There, they loudly clamored against them, saying; “These men, who, by attempting to introduce a new and strange religion, have turned the world upside down; and caused great confusion and disturbance, in many places; are come hither also. And this *Jason* hath received them, into his house; and entertained them, there. But we have apprehended him, and some other of their disciples, and have brought them, before you, as persons that are dangerous to the state. For they all (in contradiction to the decrees of *Cæsar*) affirm that there is another lord, or king, besides *Cæsar*; namely, one JESUS, the head of their sect, or faction.” [From whence I cannot forbear remarking, how proper it was, that OUR LORD should ascend, before his disciples declared him to be lord, or king: when this accusation, at *Thessalonica*, though relating to a person, in another world, and his kingdom

An. Christi

51.

Claud. 11.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect. V.

Acts xviii.

5, &c.



An. Christi  
 51.  
 Claud. 11.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. V.  
 Sect. V.  
 Acts xvii.  
 7, &c.

dom not a kingdom of this world, but a merely spiritual kingdom; could yet give umbrage to the higher powers; or, at least, afford matter of accusation against his disciples.] Groundlesse as the pretence was, it at first alarmed, not onely the populace, but even the magistrates of that city; who thought it worth their while to examine into it. For the romans, within the bounds of the empire, would not suffer that any one should be called king, without their permission. And, in the nature of things, they could not be supposed to allow of any potentate, in the roman empire; that should stand in competition with the power of Cæsar. But, when they found that the king, of whom they had spoken, was in another world; and that he laid no clame to a temporal kingdom, so as to interfere with the rights of Cæsar, or any other temporal potentate: and that the APOSTLE, and his companions, had not attempted any thing of any dangerous consequence to the roman empire, or to the peace of their city: they onely took security of Jason; and of such others, as had been brought before them; that they would behave like peaceable and good subjects; and appear again, if called for; and so dismissed them.

What moved the jews to treat the APOSTLE and his assistants, in that manner, was, that (though they were themselves extremely desirous to make *profelytes* to their religion; yet) they took it very ill, that a new sect should arise, in their nation, to whom a much greater number joined themselves, than ever they could bring over in so short a time. And then, they brought them over to doctrines, which the jews very much disliked; such as that of a suffering messiah, who came to erect a spiritual kingdom; and that such of the gentiles, as imbraced christianity, were not to be circumcised, nor obliged to observe the whole law of Moses, before they were received to full communion with the jewish converts. These, and like things, made them more intraged against the christians, than against the heathens themselves. But, though they were so highly offended; and would, by unjustifiable methods, have drawn in the magistrates, of that city, to persecute the christians, they could not prevail. The romans treated persons of different religions, with more candor and moderation. And, as the christians worshiped the same GOD with the jews; and were, then, looked upon, by the romans, as a sect of the jews; they were under the protection of the roman laws. For several edicts and decrees had been put forth, from time to time, by the roman senate, and their emperors, to establish, to the jews, many privileges and liberties. But of this, we shall find more confirmation, as we procede.

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The *christians*, not knowing what new accusations the unbelieving *jews* might devise, or what fresh tumults might happen, sent away PAUL and *Silas*, without delay, even by night, to *Berœa*, another city of *Macedonia*; not far from *Pella*, where that grand oppressor of mankind, *Alexander the great*, was borne. To which place, *Timothy* followed them, soon after. And, notwithstanding their base usage at *Philippi*, and the furious opposition of the unbelieving *jews*, at *Thessalonica*, they entered, as chearfully as ever, upon preaching the *gospel*, in the synagogue of the *jews*, as soon as they arrived at *Berœa*. And there they met with a much better reception. For they found the *jews* of *Berœa*, to be of a more candid and generous spirit than those at *Thessalonica*. Which they testified, by a careful examination into the nature and evidence of the *christian doctrine*; daily searching the *scriptures* of the old testament, to see, “whether things were as the APOSTLE represented them; and inquiring particularly, whether the *prophecies*, relating to the *messiah*, were fulfilled in *JESUS of Nazareth*?” And many of the *Berœan jews*, upon such a diligent and careful inquiry, were convinced, and embraced *christianity*, with all alacrity. So did, likewise, several women, who were *devout gentiles*, and persons of some distinction; and of the men also, who were *devout gentiles*, not a few.

But, when the unbelieving *jews*, at *Thessalonica*, understood, that PAUL, and his companions, had gone, and preached the *gospel*, at *Berœa*; they were so malicious, as to follow them thither, also. And there, again, they endeavored to excite the populace against them. Upon which, the *christian brethren* (apprehending that the weight of the storm would, probably, fall upon him) sent the APOSTLE away, by the road, which led to the sea.<sup>b</sup> And they, who had undertaken to convey him to a place of safety, conducted him to *Athens*. *Silas* and *Timothy* tarried behind him, at *Berœa*. But, when they, who conducted the APOSTLE to *Athens*, had received his orders, to his

Ver. 14. <sup>b</sup> To go, as it were, to the sea.] Πορεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. The Cambridge Ms. has not [ὡς, as it were.] Dr. Mill mentions some antient Mss. as well as the vulgate, and Euthalius, which read, [ἔως ἐπὶ to go unto the sea.] Some learned commentators understand the passage, as our translators did. To explaine which, Grotius supposes, “that PAUL was brought down to the sea coast, as one about to sail, and that the rumor thereof was spread; but that, in reality, he hastened, by land, to *Athens*.” However; as *Raphelius* has, so clearly and abundantly, proved, that the proper translation is, [to go towards, or unto, the sea;] and, as there is nothing said, of his going by land; I confesse, I doubt of the truth of Grotius his interpretation.

An. Christi  
51.  
Claud. 11.  
Book III.  
Ch. V.  
Sect. V.  
Acts xvii.  
10, &c.



An. Christi his two assistants, *Silas* and *Timothy*, that they should come to him,  
 52.  
 Claud. 12. with all speed; they left him, and returned to *Beræa*.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect. VI.

Acts xvii.

16, &c.

## CHAP. V. SECT. VI.

*St. PAUL at Athens. He preacheth, among the philosophers, there. And converts some of them; as well as other persons, in that city. Acts xvii. 16, to the end of that chapter.*

WHILE *St. PAUL* waited at *Athens*, for the coming up of *Silas* and *Timothy*, he walked about, to take a view of the city; and particularly (as it became his *apostolic character*) to make observations on their *religion*. And the more he saw, the more was he filled with grief and indignation, to find a city, which pretended so much to *wisdom*, to be so full of *idols*. But, though his spirit burned within him, he was a man of more prudence and temper, than to go and throw down *their altars*, or stamp upon their *images*; or even speak against *their religion*, in a reviling manner. No! he, with great modesty and wisdom, took the most likely method to plant *christianity* among them; beginning first (according to custom) at the *synagogue*, on the *sabbath-day*, with the *jews* and *devout gentiles*, who frequented the worship of *GOD* there. And afterwards, every day, with the *idolatrous gentiles*; as he accidentally met them, in the *forums*, or places of most public concourse. This made him soon taken notice of, in that vane and conceited city. Upon which, some of their *philosophers*, of two of the most famous *sects*; namely, the *epicuræans* and *stoics*, conferred with him, concerning the *doctrine*, which he preached. For it differed very much from the *doctrines*, which they held. “The *epicuræans* are said to have ascribed neither  
 “*creation* nor *providence* to *GOD*; but held, that the *world* was made,  
 “by a casual conflux of atoms. That the *GODS*, if there were  
 “any, were of human shape; who lay lolling upon the clouds, in  
 “ease and indolence; intirely unconcerned about human affairs.  
 “They likewise held, that, in the present state, *pleasure is the chief*  
 “*good*; and that *men are not to expect a resurrection from the dead,*  
 “nor



“nor any future state of rewards, or punishments. The stoics were  
 “intolerably proud and arrogant; compareing *their wise man* to  
 “GOD himself; and (in some cases) giving him the preference to  
 “the deity. They held, that *matter was eternal*, GOD corporeal;  
 “and that either GOD was the *soul of the world*; or *the world itself*,  
 “a god. They, generally, looked upon all things, as subject to an  
 “irresistable fatality; that *virtue was it's own sufficient reward*, and  
 “vice it's own sufficient punishment. And they fluctuated excedeing-  
 “ly, as to their belief of a future state of rewards and punishments;  
 “though they had some expectations of a future state, as well as of  
 “the conflagration and renovation of the world.” [For a larger ac-  
 count of the *epicuræans* and *stoics*; see the *prolegomena* to *Le-Clerc's*  
*ecclesiastical history*, sect. 2. chap. 4, 5.]

An. Christi  
 52.  
 Claud. 12.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. V.  
 Sect. VI.  
 Acts xvii.  
 18, &c.

When the people found the APOSTLE ingaged with men, so re-  
 nowned for wisdom, they reckoned him over-matched. And some  
 of them said, “What would this vane trifling man pretend to?  
 “Doeth he think himself capable of disputeing with persons of  
 “such profound science and erudition?” Others muttered that  
 “he seemed (to be guilty of that, for which *Socrates* had died;  
 “and others had brought themselves into danger; *namely*,) to in-  
 “troduce strange *dæmons*, or *deities*,<sup>i</sup> and a new religion;” because  
 he preached to them concerning *Jesus*, and the *resurrection*.<sup>k</sup>

At *Athens*, they had two courts of judicature. The one was cho-  
 sen every year, and consisted of five hundred persons. The other  
 was perpetual; and they used to assemble in the *forum*, called *Areopa-*  
*gus*, which stood upon a hill, and was the highest *forum* in *Athens*.<sup>l</sup>  
 The judges, who sate in this court, (of whom *Dionysius*, mentioned  
*ver. 34.* of this chapter, was one;) were, from the place, where  
 they sate, called *Areopagitæ*.<sup>m</sup> And they were looked upon, with  
 such reverence, that an *Areopagite* was used *proverbially*, for an ex-

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Ver. 18. <sup>i</sup> *Cic. de Legib.* l. 2. c. 8. *init.* Separatim nemo habessit deos, neve no-  
 vos. Sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto.

<sup>k</sup> It is evident, from verse 32. that the *Athenians* understood the word *ἀνάστασις*,  
 as we commonly do, of *men's rising from the dead*. And, one would have thought,  
 they must have understood the meaning of the word, *ἀνάστασις*, [the *resurrection*,]  
 too well to have taken it for a *goddess*. But *Pausanias* tells us, that they had erect-  
 ed altars to *shame*, *fame*, and *desire*. And, surely, they might take *ἀνάστασις*, the *re-*  
*urrection*, for a *goddess*, as well as them. *Herodotus* [l. 8. c. 111. p. 500. edit.  
*Gale.*] represents *persuasion*, *necessity*, *want*, and *impossibility*, as four goddesses. [Vid.  
*etiam*, *Clerici. Art. crit.* p. ii. § 1. c. viii. 7, 8, 9. & c. ix. 8. & § 2. c. 5. 3.]

Ver. 19. <sup>l</sup> *Budæi Annot. in Pandect.*

<sup>m</sup> *August. de civitate Dei*, l. 18. c. 10.



An. Christi <sup>52.</sup> cellent person.<sup>n</sup> They were the *Athenian senate*, or standing court of judicature; and (besides other things) “ matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of the holy mysteries, and all sorts of impiety; the consecration, also, of new gods; the erecting of temples, or altars, the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, were referred to the judgment of this court.”<sup>o</sup> And, therefore, *Plato*, having been instructed in the knowledge of the one GOD, in *Ægypt*, was forced to dissemble, or conceal his opinion, for fear of being called to an account, by the *Areopagites*; and dealt with, as his master *Socrates* had been. And, when St. PAUL was thought to be one, who preached up strange gods, they had him to this forum; that there he might declare his opinion, in a proper place, and before proper judges. For, though the court of *Areopagus* might decree the introducing new deities; yet it was unlawful, for a private person, to attempt any such thing. In that variety of sentiments, concerning the APOSTLE, and his doctrine, they brought him, one day, to *Areopagus*. And, a great number having gathered around him, in so public a place, they said; “ May we know what new doctrine it is, which you bring, among us? For you have already alleged several strange things, in our hearing. But we want to have a more full and particular account of your sentiments.” [For the *Athenians* in general; and all the strangers, who went, for the sake of studying, or converseing, in that city; spent their time, chiefly, in publishing, or inquiring after, something new and strange.<sup>p</sup>]

Then PAUL, standing in the midst of *Areopagus*, (among their elders and senators, and before a large assembly of their philosophers, orators, and great men,) wanted neither the courage, nor the address, to speak to the following purpose. “ O ye *Athenians*, I desire you would attend to what I have to say. Whereas; some of you have charged me as an introducer of new gods, or strange dæmons; I would have you know, that I reckon you are already very full of dæmons, or deities; and, in all things, more religious, than other cities,<sup>q</sup> For,

<sup>n</sup> Auli Gell. l. 12. c. 7.

<sup>o</sup> See Dr. Potter's *greek antiquities*, vol. 1. p. 105.

Ver. 21. <sup>p</sup> Sophocl. *Oedip. Colon.* p. 95.

Ver. 22. <sup>q</sup> See *Mede's works*, p. 635.

The *Athenians* were famous for collecting the gods of all nations. See Dr. Lardner's *credibility of the gospel history*, part i. p. 253, 254. 2d edition; p. 430. 3d edition.



" For, as I walked about, to view the places, and objects, of your  
 " religious worship; I spied, among the rest, one altar, upon which  
 " I found

An. Christi

52.  
 Claud. 12.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Seet. VI.

Acts xvii.

23.

" It ought to be observed, that the first followers of JESUS did, every where, ob-  
 " serve an admirable decorum, in all their words and actions. It may, perhaps, be  
 " inconceiveable by some, how they should be able, thus to behave, every where;  
 " animated, as they were, with a warm, as well as just, zeal for the truths of the  
 " christian doctrine; and a thorough dislike of all the abominations, and absurdities,  
 " of the heathen worship. But yet, it is certain, they did so. We have uncontest-  
 " ed evidence of it. — St. LUKE assures us, that, when St. PAUL was at A-  
 " thens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city was wholly given to idol-  
 " atry. But, when he comes to make his speech, in the Areopagus, his temper, and  
 " address, are equal to his argument; which, certainly, can never be exceeded. Ac-  
 " cording to our translation, indeed, there is an harshness, in the very introduc-  
 " tion; Ye men of Athens, I perceive that, in all things, you are too superstitious.  
 " Whereas; the original is peculiarly soft; if any censure was intended. [Si leni-  
 " tatem Pauli spectemus — confirmat hoc imprimis a δεισιδαιμονία traducta vox: cui  
 " quidem inest multā suavitate permixta castigatio. Sam. Drake, S. T. P. de arā ig-  
 " noto deo sacrā. Cantab. 1724. p. 12.]

" But, I apprehend, that St. PAUL tells them, he perceived they were, in all  
 " things, very devout. [κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεῖς ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ. The word δεισι-  
 " δαιμονία is often used in a bad sense; but it has, also, a good, or, at least, an inno-  
 " cent, meaning. Festus tells Agrippa, that PAUL's accusers had nothing against him,  
 " but certain questions, περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας, of their own superstition. Acts  
 " xxv. 19. It should be rendered religion. It cannot be supposed that Festus  
 " would speak contemptuously, to Agrippa, of the jewish, that is, of Agrippa's  
 " own, religion; when Agrippa was come to Cæsarea, with his sister Berenice, to  
 " salute him. It is also apparent, that Festus does shew Agrippa a great deal of re-  
 " spect. Josephus saith, that Manasses, having repented of his idolatry, and other  
 " sins against GOD, he resolved, for the future, πάσῃ χεῖρσιν περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ,  
 " to be constant in the worship of him. Joseph. p. 437. 20. Claudius, in his edict,  
 " published, in favor of the jews, exhorts them, μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων δεισιδαιμονίας μὴ  
 " ἐξουθενεῖν, not to set at nought, or revile, the religions of other nations. Id. p. 866.  
 " 18. Vid. eund. p. 632. 39. p. 1066. 31.

" It appears also, from what follows, that St. PAUL had not blamed the Athe-  
 " nians. Having mentioned the inscription of the altar, To the unknown GOD, he  
 " goes on, οὐκ ἔγνωστές εὐσεβεῖτε. Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship; him declare  
 " I unto you. The verb, here used, for worship, is always expressive of a laudable  
 " piety. See examples, in Grotius, upon the place. The harsh sense of the word,  
 " δεισιδαιμονία, is inconsistent with the whole design of St. PAUL's argument. If  
 " he had told them, at first, that they were superstitious, he encourages them in it,  
 " and endeavors to make them more so. If St. PAUL's instance had been that of  
 " some false god, there had been some reason to put the harsh sense, upon the word,  
 " in this place. But, now, there is no reason, at all, for it; since the inscription  
 " which he produces, directly intended; or, at least, comprehended, under it; the  
 " true GOD, whom St. PAUL preached. I think, therefore, that St. PAUL saith:  
 " I perceive that, in all things, you are very devout. For, as I passed along, and ob-  
 " served the objects of your worship, I found, also, an altar, with this inscription,  
 " TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom, therefore, ye worship, without knowing  
 " him; him do I declare unto you.]



An. Christi " I found this inscription, [ To THE UNKNOWN GOD. ] Whom,  
 52.  
 Claud. 12. " therefore, you worship, without knowing him. Him declare I  
 " unto

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect. VI.

Acts xvii.

23.

" The telling them, that, in all things, they were very devout, would give no offence, at Athens. It was their peculiar character, the encomium which they were fond of, above any other.

" [Εἰ γὰρ τι ἄλλο τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, καὶ τὸ ἐν πρώτοις ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον, τὸ περὶ πάντος πράγματι, καὶ ἐν παντί καιρῷ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνευ μαντικῆς καὶ χρησμῶν ἐπιτελεῖν. Dionys. Hal. de Thucyd. judic. § 40. Vid. & Sophoc. Oed. Col. v. 1000, &c. It was customary, for eminent strangers, who spoke, in public, at Athens, to give them, in their first discourse, some commendation, for the wisdom of their laws and institutions, or some other topic. St. PAUL had good reason, not to be defective, in this point, upon so nice an occasion. He could truly say, they were a devout people. It was extremely to his purpose. And they would be much pleased to hear it from him. Ἡ μὲν δὴ διάλεξις ἐπαινοὶ ἦσαν τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ ὁποιοῦναι πρὸς τὰς Ἀθηναίους, ὑπὲρ τῆς μὴ πρότερον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφίχθαι. Philo. vit. Alexand. sophist. § 3. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι αὐτοχρεδίας λόγους, ὅτε καὶ πρῶτον Ἀθήναζε ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἐς ἐγκώμιον κατέστησεν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς, τοσούτων ὄντων, ἃ τις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων ἔποι. Id. vit. Polem. § 4. It was, therefore, a singularity, in Polemon, a most proud man, that, in his discourse, at Athens, at his first visit, he said nothing in their praise. There is another like example, particularly observed, in Adrian, the sophist. Μετὰ δὲ ἔτι παρρησίας ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον παρῆλθε, τὸν Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς καὶ προσκείμενόν οἱ γενέσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλέξεως, μὴ τὴν ἐκείνων σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ. Id. vit. Adrian. § 2. Grotius understood St. PAUL to speak, here, of the Athenians, in the way of commendation, as I do.

" I take the liberty to add a passage, or two, from Mr. Warburton, confirming the interpretation, which I have given of this text. His words are these; 'Athens was a city, most devoted to religion, of any, upon the face of the earth. On this account, their poet, Sophocles, calls it the sacred building of the gods,' Ἀθηνῶν τῶν θεοδμήτων. Warburton's divine legation of Moses. B. i. § 4. p. 136. 2d edition. Again; 'This was the reason, why St. PAUL, who was regarded, as the bringer in of foreign gods, was had up, to the court of Areopagus; not as a criminal, but rather as a public benefactor, who had a new worship to propose, to a people, above all others, religious, ὡς δεισιδαιμονέστεροι. Id. ibid. book ii. § 2. p. 296.'

" It is true, that, at the conclusion, ver. 30. when the Athenians heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked. And others said, We will hear thee again, of this matter. It is possible, some might be surprized at the novelty of St. PAUL's principles; and be inclined to make themselves merry with them. But I do not perceive, by St. LUKE, that there were; I think, there could not be any exceptions made, to the propriety, or decency, of any of his expressions." [See Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel history, part i. p. 427, &c. 3d edition. Poole's synopsis, and Wolfius in loc.]

Ver. 23. Dr. Welwood, in the introduction to his translation of the banquet of Xenophon, hath the following words. " I know that there are different opinions, about this altar, and upon what occasion it came to be erected. But, it is very probable, and I have several of the most antient historians and divines, for vouchers, that it was done by Socrates. It seemeth, instead of raising an altar, as was the custom, to any of the fictitious gods of Greece; he took this way, as the safest, to expresse his devotion to the true and one GOD. Of whom the Athenians had no notion; and whose incomprehensible being he insinuated, by this inscription, was far beyond the reach of theirs, or his own understanding. And it is very reasonable to think that it was owing to the veneration, they had, for the memory



“ unto you. My professed design, is to preach unto you that un-  
 “ known GOD ; and to point out the right and acceptable way of  
 “ worshiping him. He it is, who made heaven and earth, and all  
 “ things that are therein ; and who, by his providence, governeth  
 “ all things. But it cannot reasonably be supposed, that the univer-  
 “ sal creator, and supreme governor, can be confined to temples,  
 “ made by the hands of men. For he is not the GOD of one city,  
 “ mountain, or river. The whole creation is his. But it is a  
 “ temple too narrow to circumscribe and confine his presence. For  
 “ the

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23, &c.

“ memory of it's founder, that it came to be preserved, so many ages after ; though  
 “ they understood not the sense of the inscription.”

To which I would add, that, though the *heathens* held *Jove* to be the one supreme  
 GOD ; yet their *Jove* was not the true GOD ; but a being, whom they supposed to  
 be attended with many imperfections ; and to whom they ascribed several enormi-  
 ties. And, whether that altar was erected, by *Socrates*, or by any other person, and  
 upon any other occasion ; it is highly probable, that it was designed in honor of the  
 true GOD, the GOD of the *jews*. For, as the *jews* neither erected any image to the  
 true GOD, nor were willing to discover his name to strangers ; he had, therefore,  
 neither image, nor name, at *Athens* ; though there was an altar dedicated to him :  
 at once, to expresse the *Athenians* reverence for, and ignorance of, him.

Sir George Littleton [in his observations on St. PAUL's conversion, p. 71.] has the  
 following remarks.

“ St. PAUL's holiness consisted in the simplicity of a good life, and the unwearied  
 “ performance of those apostolical duties, to which he was called. The sufferings,  
 “ which he met with, on that account, he cheerfully bore, and even rejoiced in  
 “ them, for the love of JESUS CHRIST ; but he brought none on himself. We  
 “ find, on the contrary, that he pleaded the privilege of a *roman* citizen, to avoid  
 “ being whipped. I could mention more instances, of his haveing used the best me-  
 “ thods, that prudence could suggest, to escape danger and shun persecution, when-  
 “ ever it could be done, without betraying the duty of his office, or the honor of  
 “ GOD.

“ [A remarkable instance of this, appears, in his conduct, among the *Athenians*.]  
 “ There was, at *Athens*, a law, which made it capital, to introduce, or teach, any  
 “ new gods, in their state. [*Joseph. contra Apion. L. ii. c. 37.*] Therefore, when  
 “ PAUL was preaching JESUS and the resurrection, to the *Athenians*, some of them  
 “ carried him before the court of *Areopagus*, (the ordinary judges of criminal mat-  
 “ ters ; and, in a particular manner, intrusted with the care of religion) as haveing  
 “ broken this law, and being a setter forth of strange gods. Now, in this case, an  
 “ impostor would have retracted his doctrine to save his life ; and an enthusiast would  
 “ have lost his life, without trying to save it, by innocent means. St. PAUL did  
 “ neither the one nor the other. He availed himself of an altar, which he had  
 “ found in the city, inscribed TO THE UNKNOWN GOD ; and pleaded, that he  
 “ did not propose to them the worship of any new god ; but onely explained to  
 “ them, one, whom their government had already received. — Whom, therefore,  
 “ ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. By this, he avoided the law, and es-  
 “ caped being condemned by the *Areopagus*, without departing, in the least, from  
 “ the truth of the gospel, or violateing the honor of GOD. An admirable proof,  
 “ in my opinion, of the good sense, with which he acted ; and one, that shews,  
 “ there was no mixture of fanaticism, in his religion.”]



An. Christi " the heavens, and heaven of heavens, cannot contain him. He  
 52. Claud. 12. " provides for the support of all ; and is self-sufficient, as well as all-  
 Book III. " sufficient ; incapable of any addition to his perfection and happi-  
 Ch. V. " nesse. And therefore he cannot stand in any need of men's assist-  
 Sect. VI. " ence, to provide, for him, ornaments and vestures, meats and  
 Acts xvii. " drinks, sacrifices and oblations. On the contrary ; it was he, who  
 24, &c. " gave to all men their being, life, and breath ; and every thing,  
 " which they enjoy. And, from one man, originally, hath he made  
 " all men, of every nation under heaven ; greatly multiplying the  
 " race, to people the earth, that it might not be a desolate wilder-  
 " nesse. The times, in which men are to appear, upon this earth ;  
 " and the places, where they are to transact their parts ; were always  
 " known unto GOD. And he, by his infinite wisdom, hath ap-  
 " pointed the dispensations, under which they are to live. But GOD  
 " hath placed men upon earth, principally with a view to feel af-  
 " ter, and find out, his existence and perfections ; that they might  
 " imitate and obey him, and be happy in his favor. Nor is it dif-  
 " ficult to know somewhat of him ; though you have intitled him,  
 " *The unknown GOD*. For, the works of *creation* point out the  
 " knowlege of him ; though he is invisible to mortal eyes. And  
 " these standing proofs are always exposed to open view ; that men  
 " of every age and nation (unless they are wilfully blind) might grope  
 " him out, and learn somewhat of him. But, in truth, the dis-  
 " covery of his being, and great perfections, is easie, and at hand.  
 " For he is omnipresent. And, *in him we actually live, and move,*  
 " *and have our beings*. And (as some of your own poets have said)  
 " *we men are the off-spring of the deity*." For as much then, as it  
 " is confessed, that we men are the *off-spring of GOD* ; we ought  
 " not to suppose, that the *deity* can be like to any thing, made of  
 " gold or silver, wood, or stone ; or to any thing, that can be form-  
 " ed, by the art of man, however curiously painted, carved, or in-  
 " graven.

Ver. 26. 'Αἷματος, [ *blood*, ] is not found in the *Alexandrian*, and other three *manuscripts* : nor in *Clemens Alexandrinus* ; *Velefius*, the *vulgar*, and *coptic versions*. [See Dr. *Mill*.] However ; *Wolffius* has shown that the antients did, sometimes, use αἷματος for σπέρματος. And, therefore, the sense is the same ; whether we retain, or reject, the common reading.

Ver. 27. ' See the antient *manuscripts*, *versions*, and *fathers*, quoted by Dr. *Mill*.

Ver. 28. " Hemistich. heroic. exphænomén. Arati. τὴ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. *Ho-mer* also, and *Hesiod*, and many other of the *greek poets*, have called *Jove* — Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *The father, both of men, and gods*. [See *Raphelius* and *Wolffius* in loc.]



“graven. A great part of mankind have long imagined so. But An. Christi  
 “GOD, (looking with contempt and indignation \* upon those ages of <sup>52.</sup>  
 “ignorance and error) out of his great goodnesse and compassion, Claud. 12.  
 “hath reveled his mind and will, in so clear a manner, and so well Book III.  
 “attested; that now he commandeth all men, every where, to repent; Ch. V.  
 “and to forsake their *idolatry*, as well as their other vices. For he Sect. VI.  
 “hath appointed a signal day, in which he will judge the whole Acts xvii.  
 “world in righteousnesse; by that man, even JESUS CHRIST, whom 29, &c.  
 “he hath appointed to be universal judge. And, of this appoint-  
 “ment, he hath afforded, to all, sufficient evidence. For, after he  
 “had been dead three days, he actually raised him from the dead.”

— St. PAUL, from the article of the *one true GOD*, was slideing,  
 gently, into the other grand article of the *christian faith*; namely,  
 “That JESUS of Nazareth was the *lord, savior, and judge*, of all.”  
 The principal proof of which, was, *his resurrection from the dead*.  
 But the vane and conceited auditory would hear no more. No! up-  
 on the mention of *the resurrection from the dead*, some mocked, and  
 laughed out. — Very probably, the *epicuræans*, who believed no  
*resurrection*; nor any future state, or judgment to come. But others  
 said, “We shall be glad to hear you, again, upon this subject.”  
 Most likely, they were the *stoics*; who had some notions of a  
 judgment to come; and of the conflagration and renovation of  
 the world; as well as of a future state of rewards and punish-  
 ments.

Thus the APOSTLE went out, from among them; and left them  
 divided, in their sentiments, about him and his *doctrine*; as they  
 were, before, among one another. However; his discourses and la-  
 bors, at *Athens*, were not wholly ineffectual. For some were con-  
 verted. Particularly, *Dionysius*, who was an *Areopagite*; that is,  
 one of the honorable *senators*, or *judges*, who belonged to that *high*  
*court of judicature*; and a woman of distinction, called *Damaris*;  
 and some others of lesse note, whose names are not particularly men-  
 tioned.

Ver. 30. \* *ὑπερίσταν*. See Poole's *synopsis* and Wolfius in *loc.*



## C H A P. V. S E C T. VII.

SILAS tarried still at Beræa. Timothy cometh up to the APOSTLE, at Athens; and is, from thence, sent back to Thessalonica.

An. Christi

52.  
Claud. 12.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect. VII.

Acts xvii.

34.

THOUGH the enmity of the *unbelieving jews* had made St. PAUL leave *Beræa*, in so great an hurry, that *Silas* and *Timothy* could not go along with him; yet he sent orders that they should follow him, with all speed. Accordingly; *Timothy* came up, to the APOSTLE, whilst he was at *Athens*. But *Silas* tarried still at *Beræa*. How far the affairs of the *infant church*, at *Beræa*, might want the presence of an *evangelist*; or the ingenuous and noble spirit of the *Beræans* might induce *Silas* to tarry a little longer, among them; — cannot now be determined. But, though *Timothy* was come up, to him; the APOSTLE chose to be left alone, at *Athens*; [1 *Thess.* iii. 1.] amidst the opposition of the *jews*, and the insolence and contempt of the *beathen philosophers*. In which situation, it must have been a very disagreeable thing, to have no body, to stand by, and assist, him. But notwithstanding such inconveniences, so great was the APOSTLE's anxiety, for his young, and persecuted, converts, at *Thessalonica*; that he chose to be left alone, at *Athens*; and to send *Timothy* back, to *Thessalonica*; to rectifie any thing, which might be amiss, in that *church*: and, particularly, to comfort them, under their persecutions, from the *unbelieving jews*, or others; and to establish them in the *christian faith*. He had left the *Thessalonians*, in such an hurry, and amidst such restless and implacable enemies; that, when the APOSTLE considered it, he was very uneasie; and would gladly have gone back again, himself, to fortifie and comfort them. But his adversaries, especially the *unbelieving jews*, always hindered him from returning. [1 *Thess.* ii. 17, 18.] However; the more he was hindered, the more his anxiety for them increased. And, when he saw no prospect of returning shortly, in person; he thought it eligible to send *Timothy*. For, though he was but a mere youth, the APOSTLE could trust him with the most important affairs of the *christian church*. What he feared, was, lest the afflictions, and persecutions, which had befallen him, their APOSTLE, at *Philippi*, *Thessalonica*, *Beræa*,



*Beræa*, and other neighboring places, should cause the *Thessalonians* to apostatize, from *christianity*, to their *old religions* again; as terrified, by his sufferings, and by the apprehensions of what might befall themselves. Whilest he was among them, he had endeavored to prepare them for the worst; dealing frankly with them; and assuring them, that affliction, from a wicked world, was what he always expected; and what good and upright men most commonly meet with. But, now, he sendeth back *Timothy*; for fear he had not armed and fortified them sufficiently.

An. Christi  
52.  
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Book III.  
Ch. V.  
Sect. VII.  
Acts xvii.  
ult.

C H A P. V. S E C T. VIII.

*St. PAUL goeth to Corinth: converteth several to christianity; especially among the gentiles. Worketh, with his own hands, for a subsistence. Is opposed by the unbelieving jews; but encouraged by the LORD JESUS CHRIST; who appeared, to him, in a vision. Acts xviii. 1, — 11.*

**S**T. PAUL went alone, from *Athens*, to *Corinth*. "*Achaia propria* was a part of *Greece*; and *Corinth* the metropolis of "*Achaia propria*. It was a famous mart town. For, by standing in the middle of the *Isthmus*, it had the trade of both the eastern and western seas; that is, through *Asia* and *Europe*. It was at first called *Ephyre*. But it had the name of *Corinth*, from one *Corinthus*, who took it, and rebuilt it. And it had now gone, by that name, for several ages." *Cenchrea* was it's port, or haven, for the east, or *Ægean sea*; as *Jochæum*, or *Lechæum*, was for the west, or the *Adriatic sea*. *Corinth* and *Carthage* had been destroyed, by the *romans*, in one and the same year. An hundred years after which, *Julius Cæsar* ordered the rebuilding of them both, again. And, in a little time, he sent to them *roman colonies*. From

Acts  
xviii. 1.

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Ver. 1. \* In an historical relation of some antient facts, it is called *Ephyre*. [*Hom. Il. 2. 152*] But it was called *Corinth*, in *Homer's* time: and as long before, as the wars of *Troy*. *Il. B. 570. N. 664.*



An. Christi 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VIII. Acts xviii. 1, &c.

“the colony, which he sent to *Corinth*, were descended the gentiles of that city; to whom the APOSTLE now went, and preached the everlasting gospel. *Corinth* was almost as famous as *Athens*, for philosophers and orators; and made very great pretences to learning and wisdom. And, being a place of such vast trade and resort, it was a rich and luxurious city; even to a proverb. It had a temple dedicated to *Venus*; to whom, (as *Strabo* informs us, l. 8.) a thousand harlots were consecrated.” From this short account of the city of *Corinth*, it appeareth, what reason the APOSTLE had, to condemn their extraordinary pretences to wisdom and eloquence; as well as their luxury and uncleanness. In this city, St. PAUL found *Aquila*; who was a jew by nation; but, by religion, a christian; as appeareth from several things that follow.<sup>b</sup> He had lately come from *Italy*, with his wife *Priscilla*; because *Claudius Cæsar*, who was then the roman emperor, had commanded all jews to depart from *Rome*. *Dio* saith, that *Claudius* did not banish the jews from *Rome*; but onely prohibited their assemblies.<sup>c</sup> But (though that was, in effect, to banish all the most zealous and conscientious persons among them) *Suetonius*, who lived nearer the time, saith, that “he expelled the jews from *Rome*, who were continually making tumults; *Chrestus* inciteing them, or being the occasion of their disturbances.”<sup>d</sup> It is, indeed, a matter of dispute, among learned men, whether, by *Chrestus*, *Suetonius* meant JESUS CHRIST, or no? It is likely enough, he might mean so. For he hath, in other places, shown himself peculiarly virulent against the christians.<sup>e</sup> But, if he meant to say, that CHRIST incited the jews to make tumults, at *Rome*; he could not, with any propriety, charge OUR LORD with doing it, in person. One cannot suppose that *Suetonius* should so far mistake, both in point of time and place; as to suppose, that JESUS CHRIST was at *Rome*, in the reign of *Claudius Cæsar*; and that, there, he incited the jews to tumults and seditions. For OUR LORD was crucified at *Jerusalem*; and gone from our world, many years before *Claudius* was advanced to the imperial dignity. He could, therefore, onely intend to charge it upon CHRIST’s doctrine, and followers.

Ver. 2. <sup>b</sup> See particularly, ver. 26. from whence it plainly appears, that he and his wife were both christians. And, yet, there is no intimation of St. PAUL’s converting them. On the contrary; from his so immediately joining company, and working, with them; they appear to have been christians, before he met with them.

<sup>c</sup> Dio. lib. 60. p. 669. *A, B.* alias, p. 666.  
<sup>e</sup> Sueton. in Nero. c. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Sueton. in vit. Claud. c. 25.



lowers. And that the *jews* should make tumults, when *christianity* began to spread, in *Rome*, is not wonderful; if we consider their behavior towards St. STEPHEN, towards the other APOSTLES; and towards St. PAUL, at *Lystra*, *Thessalonica*, and *Beræa*; as well as, afterwards, at *Corinth* itself. And, when tumults were made, *Claudius* his timorous and suspicious temper would, very naturally, lead him to punish both the guilty and the suspected. However; neither CHRIST himself, nor *christianity*, were, in the least, to be charged, with being the *criminal causes* of those tumults; suppose they were the innocent occasion of them. If bigots and persecutors will abuse the virtuous and the modest, for speaking the truth, and supporting it with proper evidence; such *zeleots* are criminal; and not the innocent persons, whom they persecute. — This banishment of the *jews*, from *Rome*, was not ordered, by a *decree* of the *senate*, but of the *emperor* onely. And, therefore, it died with him, at the farthest. But, as the *christians* were then looked upon, by the *romans*, to be onely a *sect* of the *jews*; it affected them, as well as the *jews*, as long as it continued.<sup>f</sup>

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xviii.  
2.

*Josephus* hath, no where, particularly, mentioned *this edict*. As it was in force, for so short a time onely, he might partly (for that reason) omit it. But a more prevailing reason was, (probably) that it reflected dishonor upon the *jews*; and was, therefore, disagreeable to a *jewish historian*. And, if some dispute between the *jews*, and the *followers* of JESUS, was really the occasion of *this order*; (as *Suetonius* seemeth to affirm;) that might be another reason for *Josephus* his silence. For he was very reserved, if not altogether silent, about the affairs of the *christians*.<sup>g</sup>

*Aquila* and *Priscilla* seem to have had an house at *Corinth*. For they had settled, so far, in that city, as to enter upon their usual employment; which was to make tents, and pavilions, of linen, or of skins: such as, in those hot countries, they sometimes lived in, during the summer-season; such as travellers made use of, where they had no houses, nor caravansaries, to lodge in; and such, as soldiers lodged in, when incamped in the field. And, because they were converts to *christianity*; and of the business, to which the APOSTLE had been trained up, in his younger days; he went and lodged with them;

P 2

and

<sup>f</sup> *Quære*: " Might not St. PAUL, *Rom.* xiii. 1, &c. have a reference to this? " and design to intimate, by what he saith there, that, though they had been unjustly " accused of sedition; they ought to take care not to be really guilty of it? "

<sup>g</sup> See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part i. p. 326. 2d edition; p. 556. 3d edition.



An. Christi and worked, along with them, at their daily imployment. It hath  
 52.  
 Claud. 12. been observed, above, that such of the *jews*, as had the most libe-  
 Book III. ral education, and were the most zealous and diligent students of the  
 Ch. V. *law*, were, likewise, very frequently, trained up to some handicraft  
 Sect. business. And, therefore, St. PAUL's case was not peculiar; nor  
 VIII. his birth and education lesse liberal, upon that account. He might,  
 Acts indeed, in his *apostolic* character, and even by the reason of things,  
 xviii. 3. have expected, that such, as partook of *his spiritual things*, should  
 have ministered to him, in *temporals*. For, "what soldier goeth a  
 "warfare, at any time, at his own charges? Or, what shepherd  
 "partaketh not of the milk of the flock?" But, though it was  
*lawful*, the APOSTLE would not do it; because it was not always  
*expedient*. It might have given occasion, for his enemies, to say,  
 that he compassed sea and land, to make a gain of his converts; and  
 that he sought what they had, more than their benefit. And it  
 might, likewise, have afforded a pretence to the *false apostles*, to  
 have demanded a maintenance; and to the sloathful persons, who  
 imbraced *christianity*, to live in idleness: As if diligence and in-  
 dustry, in some honest calling, was no longer required of them.  
 Whereas; now, he could, from his own example, show his converts,  
 that such, as would not work, when they were able, ought not to  
 eat; and cut off all occasion from the *false apostles*, for demanding a  
 maintenance, under the shelter of his example. And, finally, by  
 despising the pleasures, profits, and honors, of this world, he gave  
 mankind the most convincing proofs, that he believed *christianity* to  
 be true; and that, upon such strong evidences, as could leave no room,  
 for any reasonable doubt, or hesitation. To this his diligence, and  
 disinterested behavior, he maketh frequent appeals, in his *epistles*: and  
 that, with the greatest justnesse and propriety. For, what could more  
 effectually have cleared him, from all suspicion of carrying on a si-  
 nister and worldly design?

By *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, St. PAUL had, very probably, an ac-  
 count of the planting of a *christian church*, at *Rome*. And, from his  
 hearing of the death of *Claudius Cæsar*, or of the abolishing of the  
 above-mentioned *edict*; he thought it likely, that the *christians* would  
 return to that *imperial city*. "He, therefore, from that time, long-  
 "ed to go to *Rome*; and frequently prayed to GOD, to grant him  
 "a prosperous journey thither: that he might comfort them, under  
 "their discouragements; farther instruct them, in the *christian doc-*  
 "trine, if they wanted farther instructions; and, above all, that he  
 "might (by the laying on of his hands) impart, unto them, some  
*spiritual*



"*spiritual gifts, or miraculous powers, to establish and confirm them* An. Christi  
"in their *christianity*." [Rom. i. 9,—13. and xv. 22, 23.] 52.

*Philo* saith, that the jews inhabited *Corinth*, and the chief and best parts of the *Peloponnesus*. And St. LUKE, in the *Acts of the* Claud. 12.  
APOSTLES; and St. PAUL, in his two *epistles* to *Corinth*; have given Book III.  
plane intimations, that there were several jews, in that city. For Ch. V.  
they had a *synagogue*, there. Unto which, the APOSTLE went, Sect.  
as usual, every sabbath-day. And there he discoursed, concerning VIII.  
the *christian doctrine*; and labored to convince both the jews and de- Acts  
vout gentiles, that it was true, and worthy of their regard. Among xviii.  
them was *Epænetus*, who was the first convert, in *Achaia*; [Rom. 4, &c.  
xvi. 5;] as the household of *Stephanas*,<sup>a</sup> was, the first family, that  
was converted there. The whole family of *Stephanas* was baptized  
by the APOSTLE himself. And he also, afterwards, baptized *Crispus*  
and *Caius*. But he himself *baptized* no other of the *Corinthians*. He  
left that to his *assistents*; or to some of the *first converts* of the place.  
For, the business of an APOSTLE, was, not to *baptize*; but to *preach*  
the *gospel*. [1 Cor. i. 14, — 17.]

St. PAUL was at *Corinth*, some time, before his two *assistents* came  
up to him; and so long he frequented the *synagogue*. But, when  
*Timothy* was come up with him, again, from *Thessalonica*; and *Si-*  
*las* from *Beræa*; and they had told him, what success they had  
had, in watering the *gospel*, which he had planted, in *Macedonia*;  
he was pressed in his spirit; and grieved that he had hitherto preach-  
ed, to the jews, in *Corinth*, with so little success. For which rea-  
son, he resolved to push the matter, in the *synagogue*, there. And,  
therefore, he left off arguing, by distant hints and insinuations; and  
asserted, in the plainest terms, "that JESUS was actually the *messiah*;  
"and that this was the clear and undeniable conclusion, from all the  
"arguments, which he had formerly alleged; as well as the result of  
"the *miracles*, which he had worked; and the *gifts*, which he had  
"imparted, unto such as had imbraced the *gospel*." This freedom and  
plainness of speech, presently made the *unbelieving jews* discover  
themselves. Which they did, by fiercely opposing the *christian doc-*  
*trine*;

<sup>a</sup> The greek expositors phansyed that this *Stephanas* was the jaylor, who was con-  
verted, at *Philippi*, and baptized there, with his whole house. Whereas; this *Ste-*  
*phanas* was a *Corinthian*; and his family, the first-fruits; or the first family, con-  
verted to the *christian faith*; in *Achaia*. [1 Cor. xvi. 15; 17.] And the jaylor  
was, most probably, a native of *Philippi*, a city of *Macedonia*; at a considerable  
distance from *Corinth* and *Achaia*.



An. Christi trine; and blaspheming CHRIST and his religion. But all the answer, which the meek APOSTLE made, was, to shake the dust off, from his loose, upper garment, and say; "Your blood be upon your own heads. I, like a faithful watchman, have warned you of your guilt and danger; and you, alone, must stand to the consequence of your refusal. For the blood of your souls will not be required at my hands.<sup>i</sup> However; I must go where I shall not labor so much in vane. And, therefore, from henceforth, I will apply myself to the *gentiles*, in this city; *that is*, to the *idolatrous*, as well as *devout, gentiles*. And no longer attempt the conversion of you, *jews*, in this synagogue." Upon which, he left frequenting the synagogue. And, instead of the house of *Aquila*, he went to the house of one *Justus*; who was a *devout gentile*;<sup>k</sup> and whose house joined to the synagogue.<sup>l</sup>

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6, &c.

But his labors, in the synagogue, had not been without some success. For *Crispus*, one of the rulers of the synagogue, embraced *christianity*; together with his *whole family*. And, afterwards, many other of the *Corinthians*, when they heard the *christian doctrine*, and the evidences of it, embraced the *gospel*, and were *baptized*. — His teaching, so nigh the synagogue, in the house of an *uncircumcised gentile*; his converting, and receiveing the *uncircumcised gentiles*, into full communion with the *jewish christians*; and his great and remarkable success; exasperated the *unbelieving jews* against the APOSTLE; which seems to have discouraged him. And, as he had already planted a considerable *church*, in that city, he might,

Ver. 6. <sup>i</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 4; 8. 2 Sam. i. 16. 1 Kings ii. 33. Matt. xxvii. 25.

Ver. 7. <sup>k</sup> Some of the *antient manuscripts* and *versions* read *Titus*, here; and others read *Titus Justus*. [See Dr. Mill in loc. & prolegom. 437. & *Miscellanea sacra*; essay 4. p. 59.] But, whether *Titus* or *Justus*, or both the names, be the true reading; we cannot suppose that *Titus*, the *evangelist*, is here to be understood. For, as he was a *christian*, long before this; St. LUKE would not, now, (contrary to his constant custom) have described him, under the lower character of a *devout gentile*: but would have called him, one of the *brethren, disciples, or believers*. Whereas; from the account here given, of this *Justus*, he was a *devout gentile*; whom St. PAUL now converted to *christianity*, at *Corinth*.

<sup>l</sup> The *jews* had, in some places, houses, annexed to their *synagogues*, for the entertainment of strangers and travelers. But, as this was in the possession of an *uncircumcised proselyte*; I can hardly think that it was designed for such an house.

It may be inquired, "Whether the APOSTLE did not prefer the house of *Justus*, to that of *Aquila*; because it was so nigh the *synagogue*; that he might give any of the *jews*, or *proselytes of the gate*, an opportunity, if they pleased, to attend upon him, more conveniently, or more privately?"



might, possibly, begin to think of leaveing the place, and going else-  
 where; as haveing little expectation of bringing in, any confi-  
 derable addition, to the number of *converts*, which he had already  
 made, there. But, to prevent his departure, and to encourage him  
 in his work; the LORD JESUS himself appeared unto him, in a vi-  
 sion, by night, and said: "Be not afraid, PAUL; but preach the  
 " *gospel*, with all opennesse and *fortitude*; and let nothing silence  
 " thee. For I will bear thee up, under all fears and discouragements;  
 " and will suffer no man, in this city, to attack thee, so as to do  
 " thee any, the least, harm. Tarry, therefore, and continue to  
 " preach the *gospel*, among them. For I know that there are seve-  
 " ral persons, in this city, so well-disposed, as, by thy preaching,  
 " to believe and imbrace my doctrine." Upon which, PAUL con-  
 tinued, a considerable time longer, at *Corinth*; teaching the word  
 of GOD, among them.

An. Christi

52.  
Claud. 12.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect.

VIII.

Acts

xviii.

9, &amp;c.

## C H A P. V. S E C T. IX.

*During St. PAUL's abode, at Corinth; he wrote his first epistle to the THESSALONIANS. An account of the subject, and design, of that epistle.*

SO great a concern had the APOSTLE, for his converts, at *Thessalonica*, that (though it was not very long, since he had been there, himself; and, though he had, also, since that, sent *Timothy* to them; and had, by him, received a very agreeable account, of their faith and charity; of their affectionate remembrance of him; and their desire to see him again; — yet) he is not fully satisfied, in his own mind. He, therefore, wrote this excellent epistle to them. Which I place (as the best chronologers have done) the first of all St. PAUL's *epistles*. And I suppose that he wrote it; after he had been, some time, at *Corinth*; that is, in the year of CHRIST, 52; of *Claudius*, 12.

There are three different opinions, concerning the date of this *epistle*, which I would mention; together with my reasons for rejecting them.

1. "Grotius.



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II.

I. "Grotius hath contended, that this, which is commonly called *the first*, was, in reality, *the second, epistle to the Thessalonians*." — But he has not supported that conjecture, by any historical evidence. He seems to have started it, merely to serve his hypothesis about *the man of sin*. However; what we have, farther, to offer, may be deferred, 'till we come to abridge *the second epistle*.

II. "Others have thought, that *this epistle* was written, a year or two sooner; and from the city of *Athens*. And, in our common bibles, the subscription, printed, at the end of *this first epistle to the Thessalonians*, positively asserts, that *it was written from Athens*." — But the *subscriptions*, at the ends of the *epistles*, are of no authority. And it is most probable, that *this epistle* was not written from *Athens*. For the APOSTLE's stay, at *Athens*, was of no very long continuance. And he did not write *this epistle*, 'till after *Timothy* was returned, from *Thessalonica*; and had brought him an account of the state of that church. [1 *Thess.* iii. 6.] Now, *Timothy* did not come up, to the APOSTLE, at *Athens*; but some time after his arrival at *Corinth*. [Acts xviii, 1; 5.] And we have no account of the APOSTLE's returning to *Athens*.

III. Mr. *Whiston* [in his *essay upon the apostolic constitutions*, p. 46, &c. and 110.] argues, "that *the two epistles to the Thessalonians*, commonly placed the first of all St. PAUL's writings, were not written, 'till the year 67. or a little before St. PAUL's death. (1.) Because they are so seldom referred to, in *the constitutions*."

*Answer.* Suppose one should allow the high antiquity, and genuineness of *the apostolic constitutions*, this argument seems not to have any great force. For, if *the two epistles to the Thessalonians* are there referred to, though but seldom, it is evident, they must have been written before *the apostolic constitutions*. But, how long, or how short, a time, before; the quoting them seldom, or frequently, does not determine. (2.) Mr. *Whiston* argues, for the late date of *the two epistles to the Thessalonians*; "because we find, therein, that *the Thessalonians* fame was, then, spread over all *Macedonia* and *Achaia*; and in every place. [1 *Thess.* i. 7, 8.]" *Answer.* As a pretty large *christian church* was planted, in a short time, in so celebrated a city; which had a constant correspondence with many other places, by means of its trade and commerce; the news thereof must have spread, very swiftly, into the neighboring towns and countries. And, places, at a greater distance, in a year or two's time, would hear of it. It would, therefore, become a frequent subject of conversation. (3.) It is alleged, "that St. PAUL would have



“ have come to them, once and again ; but was hindered, by Sa-  
 “ *tan*. [1 Theſſ. ii. 18.]” *Answer*. It is probable, St. PAUL  
 had ſome thoughts of returning, to his *Theſſalonian* converts, from  
*Beræa* ; but the unbelieving *jews* of *Theſſalonica* perſued him thither ;  
 and drove him, from thence, to *Athens*. He ſeems, alſo, to have  
 had thoughts, of returning, to *Theſſalonica*, from *Athens*. But the  
 virulent temper of the unbelieving *jews*, at *Theſſalonica*, was ſuf-  
 ficient to make him look upon a ſpeedy return, as improper. He,  
 therefore, choſe to be left alone, at *Athens* ; and to ſend *Timothy*  
 back to *Theſſalonica*. To this, he ſeems plainly to refer, 1 Theſſ. ii.  
 16, &c. and iii. 1. And, from the *Acts* of the APOSTLES, com-  
 pared with the *fiſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, it appears, that the  
 unbelieving *jews*, and ſuch as they could influence, were intended,  
 by *Satan*, or the *adverſary*. (4.) It is argued, “ that he was, now,  
 “ under perſecution. 1 Theſſ. iii. 3, &c.” *Answer*. The perſecu-  
 tions, to which the APOSTLE here refers, were, very likely, no  
 other, than thoſe, which aroſe, from the fury of the unbelieving  
*jews*, at *Theſſalonica*, *Beræa*, and *Corinth*. So St. PAUL, himſelf,  
 has led us to think. [1 Theſſ. ii. 15. and iii. 4.] And St. LUKE  
 has confirmed this. [*Acts* xvii. 5, &c. and xviii. 6, &c.] Beſides ;  
 [1 Theſſ. iii. 4.] the APOSTLE ſeems to intimate, that he was there  
 ſpeaking, not of what he ſuffered, at preſent ; but of perſecutions,  
 which were paſt. His words are ; “ For, even when we were with  
 “ you, we told you, before-hand, that we ſhould ſuffer tribulation ;  
 “ even as it came to paſſe, and you have known.” καὶ οἶδατε. (5.)  
 It is alleged, “ that many of the *Theſſalonians* were dead, for their  
 “ religion ; and that they wanted comfort thereupon. [1 Theſſ. iv.  
 “ 13, &c.]” *Answer*. As to any of them dying *martyrs*, for their  
 religion ; that does not appear. But, in the year 52. ſeveral of them  
 might be dead : enow, to occaſion all, that the APOSTLE had  
 ſaid, upon that particular. For, ſuppoſeing St. PAUL to have been,  
 three quarters of a year, at *Theſſalonica* ; that he had made an hun-  
 dred converts there ; that his ſtay, at *Beræa* and *Athens*, took up a  
 quarter of a year more ; and that he had been, a year and a quar-  
 ter, at *Corinth*, before he wrote this *fiſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*.  
 And, farther ; ſuppoſeing that, ſince he left the *Theſſalonians*, onely  
 four *chriſtians* had died ; at whoſe interrment, the *chriſtians* had made  
 the ſame doleful, funeral lamentations, which were uſed by the *bea-*  
*thens*, who had no hope of a reſurrection to a glorious and happy  
 immortality : — then, the APOSTLE might juſtly reprove them, for  
 their not duely conſidering the ſtate of the dead ; and for expreſſeing  
 like



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like excessive sorrow and lamentation, as those did, who were without such hope. And then, also, it might be proper to assure them, that, as CHRIST was, himself, raised from the dead, he will come, and raise all the dead, and transform the living; and make the righteous, perfectly, and for-ever, happy. And they might, justly, comfort themselves, and one another; with these words. (6.) It is argued, "that the APOSTLE expressly mentions those persecutions, which the *Thessalonians* endured; all, probably, under *Nero*, after the year "of OUR LORD, 64." *Answer.* The APOSTLE does, indeed, once and again, speak of the *christians*, at *Thessalonica*, as afflicted and persecuted. But, instead of pointing to their sufferings, under *Nero*; in, or after, the year 64; he says, that, "when the gospel came "[*first*] among them, they received it, with much affliction." [1 *Thess.* i. 6.] And that, "they became imitators of the *christian* "churches, in *Judæa*; in that they had suffered, from their own "country-men; as those of *Judæa*, had, from their neighbors: " [1 *Thess.* ii. 14.] " plainly directing us to what is recorded, *Acts* xvii. 5, &c.

As to the arguments, which peculiarly concern *the second epistle to the Thessalonians*, we choose to defer them, 'till we come to that *epistle*.

The arguments for placing *the first epistle to the Thessalonians*, the first of all St. PAUL's *epistles*; or for supposing that it was written, from *Corinth*, soon after the planting of the *christian* church, there, are such as these; namely, that PAUL, *Silvanus*, and *Timothy*, planted that church; that they took that very rout, from *Thessalonica*, "through *Beræa*, and *Athens*, to *Corinth*: that, as they had joined, "in planting that church, at *Thessalonica*; so they join, in writing "this *epistle*, to their converts, there: that the unbelieving *jews* "fiercely opposed St. PAUL, and drove him away, from *Thessalo-* "nica; and followed him to *Beræa*: and drove him, from thence, "also; that the *christians*, at *Thessalonica*, had received the gospel, "with joy; in such a turbulent state of things." With these particulars, *the Acts of the APOSTLES*, and *the first epistle to the Thessalonians* acquaint us.

Now, from this state of things, the propriety of every part of this *epistle* will appear. It was proper to comfort such young converts, under persecution; to exhort them to steadfastness in the faith; to commend what had been right in their conduct; and to excite them to go on, as they had begun; to fortify them, against the discouragements, which might arise, from considering the persecutions, that, every



every where, befell the APOSTLE and his assistants; and to expresse a peculiar affection and tenderneſſe, for ſuch young converts, in the miſt of their diſtreſſes. — Adultery, fornication, and great impurity, were prevailing vices, in the *heathen* world. And *christians*, juſt emerged out of the ſtate of *heatheniſh darkneſſe*, and *immorality*, would ſtand more in need of being earneſtly admoniſhed to beware of ſuch enormities; and to be told, in the plaineſt terms, that ſuch things were inconfiſtent with that purity, which *chriſtianity* requires.

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— Such young converts were more likely to retain the *heathen* cuſtom, of funeral lamentations, than *christians* of ſeveral years ſtanding; as not being ſo clear in their notions, and ſo confirmed in their belief, of a reſurrection to a glorious and happy immortality.

In one word, every thing ſeems to fall in, with this date, of *the firſt epiſtle to the Thessalonians* being writen, at *Corinth*, in the year 52. And, more particularly, *the hiſtory of the Acts of the APOSTLES*, the grand key to all the *epiſtles*. And all theſe things cannot be ſaid of any other time, or place.

I can find no ſatisfactorie account, by whom this letter was ſent. *Silvanus* and *Timothy* (who have, by ſome, been ſuppoſed to have carried it) joined in the writeing of it; and were, alſo, with the APOSTLE, when he wrote his *ſecond epiſtle to the Thessalonians*. Nor can I diſcern any hint, in *the ſecond epiſtle*, that either of them had then been, a third time, at *Thessalonica*, or in *Macedonia*.

Imagine *the great APOSTLE of the gentiles* to be full of a juſt reſentment, and generous indignation, againſt his country-men, the unbelieving *jews*; who had lately treated him and his aſſiſtents, as well as the *christians*, at *Thessalonica*, in ſuch a fierce and cruel manner: and haveing, at the ſame time, the moſt tender and parental care and affection, for his young converts, in that city. And you will have the very poſture of his mind, dureing the writeing of this *epiſtle*. For theſe two things appear, every where, throughout the *epiſtle*.



## The first epistle to the Thessalonians.

Written from Corinth. An. Christi 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IX. Acts xviii. II.

“ A F T E R he had been, some months, at *Corinth*, St. PAUL sent this *first epistle* to the *Thessalonians*; in his own name, and in the name of (*Silas*, or) *Silvanus*, and of his beloved *Timothy*. He being the APOSTLE of the *gentiles*; and they two haveing been his assistants, in planting and watering *that church*. He wrote, not to their *bishops* and *deacons*. For it doeth not appear, that there were, as yet, any such *officers*, ordained, among them. But he wrote to the *christian church*, there; and addresseth himself, more especially, to that part of the *church*, which consisted of *converts*, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*. However; I suppose that all the *christians* of *Thessalonica* assembled together, for religious worship; that this (as well as the *second*) *epistle* was read, publicly, to them; and that such parts of it, as contained the general doctrine, precepts, or evidences, of *christianity*, might be of advantage to them all. And that they were, so far, by the APOSTLE, intended for general benefit.

“ As an instance of that remarkable propriety, wherewith St. PAUL expressed himself; we may observe, that neither *this*, nor the *second*, *epistle* to the *Thessalonians*, is introduced with, PAUL an APOSTLE of JESUS CHRIST, &c. as in many other of his *epistles*. For, though the *unbelieving jews* had fiercely opposed him; yet, as they acknowledged not the authority of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, nor of any of his APOSTLES: And the *judaizing christians* (who professed a great regard to JESUS) had not yet begun to make any opposition to St. PAUL; nor called in question his *apostolic* power and mission, at *Thessalonica*; (as they did afterwards in *Galatia*, *Corinth*, and other places;) He, therefore, doeth not, here, assume the dignity, which belonged to him; because he had no proper occasion for asserting his *authority*. — After the *introduction*, (in which he wisheth them all manner of blessing from GOD, and from the LORD JESUS CHRIST, in whom they believed) he thanks GOD, for their faith and love, and patient expectation of CHRIST’s second coming. He puts them in mind of the evidences, which attended his mission; *namely*, miracles, and the gifts of the holy spirit. He commendeth them, as the elect of GOD, for their ready reception of the *gospel*, upon it’s first appearance among them; amidst a fierce opposition, and some degree of persecution: and that, in such discouraging circumstances, they had embraced the *gospel*, with so much alacrity, as to become examples to their neighbors, on all sides. For, in the surrounding countries, it was commonly talked of, what reception, the APOSTLE and his assistants had met with, at *Thessalonica*; and how readily several of the inhabitants of that city had turned, from lifeless idols and fictitious deities, to serve the living and true GOD, and to wait for the second appearance of JESUS CHRIST,

“ to



“ to deliver them from the wrath, which will then come upon the wicked. *Written from Corinth, An. Christi 52. Claud. 12.*  
 “ The APOSTLE and his two assistants could appeal to the *Thessalonians*, themselves, for the success, which they had met with; as well as the zeal and cheerfulness, with which they had begun to preach the *gospel*, among them; even after the injurious and base treatment, which they had met with, at *Philippi*. And, in the midst of harsh censures, and fierce opposition, at *Thessalonica*, they had acted, in the most upright and disinterested manner; foregoing that respect, and support, which they might have claimed, and expected; and laboring, night and day, with their own hands; that, while they preached the *gospel*, to them, they might not be burthen some to any of them. The *Thessalonians* could not have forgot, how holily and inoffensively they behaved; and with what tenderness and affection they had treated them; exhorting them, earnestly, to live becoming their high privileges, and glorious prospects, as *christians*. And the APOSTLE thanks GOD, that the *Thessalonians* had received the *gospel*, not as the contrivance of men, but as the word of GOD: and that they had imitated the ancient prophets, CHRIST, and his APOSTLES, in suffering, for righteousness sake, at the hands of the *jews*; who did all, they could, to prevent the *gospel*'s being preached unto the *gentiles*. He often professes his ardent affection, and vast concern, for the *Thessalonians*; takes notice, with what reluctance he was parted from them, and what a strong desire he had to see them again. Which he had attempted more than once. But the adversary had prevented.

“ When he could no longer forbear, the APOSTLE chose to be left alone, at *Athens*; and sent *Timothy*, to establish and comfort them. He lets them know, that *Timothy* had brought him, back, a very pleasing account of the steadfastness of their faith; of their love to him, their APOSTLE; and of their great desire to see him again; as he most ardently desired to see them. This afforded him great consolation and joy, under all his persecutions and difficulties. He earnestly prayed, that GOD would order matters so, as that he might visit them again, and farther instruct them; that they might abound, in love to each other, and to all men; and that they might live such holy lives, as to find acceptance with their judge, at his coming.

“ His practical directions were peculiarly suited to the state of that church. The first direction of that kind, was, that they should live chastely; and carefully abstain from that impurity, to which the *gentiles* were much addicted. For *christianity* requires the greatest purity. — The *christians* of *Thessalonica* loved each other, and all the *christians* in the neighborhood, so affectionately; that the apostle recommended it to them, onely to abound therein, more and more. — He exhorted them to behave in a quiet and peaceable manner; and particularly, to mind the duties of their own proper callings and stations; that they might live in credit, and be esteemed by the world around them.

“ The



Written

from

Corinth.

An. Chriſti

52.

Claud. 12.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect. IX.

Acts

xviii.

II.

Chap. V.

“ The *heathens* had ſuch imperfect notions, and wavering expectations, of a future ſtate, that they uſed to howl, at funerals, and exceſſively lament over their dead; as if they were utterly loſt, and never to live in any other ſtate. But the APOSTLE adviſed the *chriſtians*, not to forrow; like thoſe, who had no hope of a reſurrection to an happy immortality. For CHRIST’S riſeing from the dead, to immortal glory and felicity, was, to them, a ſure proof, that they, and their friends alſo, ſhould, in due time, ariſe to a glorious and happy immortality. And he acquaints them with the order, in which, things are then to proceed. Firſt, the dead are to be raiſed; then the living transformed. And, after that, all the righteous are to be taken up together, to meet their LORD; and to live in perfect happineſſe, with him, for ever. — The ſecond coming of CHRIST will be ſudden and unexpected. And, therefore, *chriſtians* ſhould be always præpared. — The *chriſtian brethren* were intreated to ſhow reſpect, unto ſuch, as præſided over their church; and likewiſe, inſtructed them. Such, as præſided, were to inſtruct, admoniſh, ſupport, and comfort, the *chriſtian brethren*, as the caſe required.

“ No *chriſtian* is to render evil for evil. But they ſhould always endeavour to do good, to all around them. They were not to be dejected, whatever diſcouragements they met with. They were to pray daily; and to give thanks for every mercy. They were not to quench the gifts of the ſpirit. And they were, in particular, to prefer prophesying. Though they were not to receive every thing, that was called a divine revelation: but carefully to examine all things, hold faſt the good, and reject the evil.

The APOSTLE prayed for the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*; that they might be thoroughly ſanctified. And deſired their prayers. He ſent ſalutations: gave a ſtrict and ſolemn charge that the *epiſtle* ſhould be read publicly. And then concluded with his uſual benediction.



C H A P. V. S E C T. X.

*During St. PAUL's abode, at Corinth, at this time, he wrote, also, the second epistle to the Thessalonians. An account of the subject, and design, of that epistle.*

**T**HAT St. PAUL planted a *christian church*, at *Thessalonica*; that *Silvanus* and *Timothy* were his assistants, in that work; and what sort of treatment they met with, from the unbelieving *jews* and *heathens*, and from the *christians*; has been related, at large, in the history of the former *epistle*.

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In the former *epistle*, St. PAUL had expressed a great desire to return, and make the *Thessalonians* another visit; in order to comfort them, under their persecutions; and farther to instruct them, in the *christian doctrine*. But, hitherto, he was prevented. Having, therefore, received an account of the effects of his former *letter*; and a farther account of the state of that church; [see 2 *Thess.* i. 3. and ii. 2. and iii. 11.] he wrote a *second epistle*, to them, within a few months after the first; whilst he himself continued at *Corinth*; and *Silas* and *Timothy* remained, there, with him. I reckon that this *second epistle* to the *Thessalonians* was written, not long after the first; partly, because St. PAUL hath taken no notice of the unbelieving *jews* having hurried him before *Gallio*: [of which, we find St. LUKE hath given a particular account, *Acts* xviii. 12, &c.] though, perhaps, the APOSTLE saw the storm approaching; and hints at it; 2 *Thess.* iii. 2.

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11.

That the greatest part of the *christian church*, at *Thessalonica*, had been converted, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*; and that the former *epistle* was addressed to the *christians*, who had been such; has been shown already, in the history of the *first epistle*. I apprehend that the *second epistle* was written to the same persons, and near the same time, with the former. But these things have been denied. Let us, therefore, attend to what is alleged for the contrary opinion. The best chronologers, and the generality of learned men, seem now to be agreed, that this *epistle* was written, from *Corinth*, about the year of CHRIST 52. of *Claudius*, 12. But *Grotius* was for placing it, about the year of OUR LORD, 38. and in the second year of the reign.



An. Christi reign of Caligula. And Mr. Whiston was for placing it, in the year  
 52. of CHRIST, 67. of Nero, 13. It may not be improper to examine  
 Claud. 12. the grounds of their opinions.

Book III. GROTIUS held, that this was not *the second epistle to the Thessalo-*  
 Ch. V. *nians.* And he has alleged a variety of arguments, to prove, "that  
 Sect. X. "the order of these two *epistles* is inverted, by those, who have col-  
 Acts "lected, and put in order, *the epistles* : and that the same thing has  
 xviii. "happened here, as in the books of the *Maccabees* ; where the first  
 II. "book is put in the third place ; and for that reason, that the *greek*  
 "christians came later to the knowlege of that book. For, as to the  
 "latins, they have not yet received it, &c." — In support of this  
 hypothesis, Grotius alleges, 1. "That this *epistle* was written to Ja-  
 "son, a *jewish christian*, the kinsman of *Silas* and *Timothy* ; and to  
 "other *christianizing jews* ; who upon the persecution, which arose,  
 "upon the death of St. STEPHEN, fled, from *Judæa*, into *Syria* ;  
 "and, afterwards, to *Thessalonica*." Answer. That, upon the per-  
 secution, which followed the martyrdom of St. STEPHEN, several of  
 the *jewish christians* fled, from *Jerusalem*, into the neighboring coun-  
 tries, is very true. [See *Acts* viii. 1, &c. and ix. 1, &c. and xi. 19,  
 20.] But, that any of them went as far as *Thessalonica*, does not ap-  
 pear. Neither can I find any kind of proof, that this *Jason* was one  
 of them, who fled, from *Jerusalem*, on that occasion ; or that he  
 was the kinsman of *Silas* and *Timothy* ; or that he was so much as a  
*jewish christian*. — It plainly appeareth, from the introduction,  
 that this *epistle* was written, to the *christian church*, at *Thessalonica*.  
 And it seems, evidently, to have been written, to a church, among  
 whom, St. PAUL had been, in person. Now, when he came first to  
*Thessalonica* ; (which was about the year of CHRIST, 51. of *Claudi-*  
*us*, 11.) there is no intimation of his finding any *christians* there, al-  
 ready. But the contrary seems evident, from *Acts* xvii. 1, &c.

II. Grotius alleges, "that, as this *epistle* contained the wicked deeds  
 "of *Caius*, the emperor, in very expresse words, but sharp, as the  
 "matter required ; it could not be published, without harm to the  
 "christian church, whilst the *Claudian* family reigned, at *Rome* ;  
 "that is, before the reign of *Galba*, or *Vespasian*. And, therefore,  
 "when it was first published ; then it began to be added to the *epis-*  
 "tles of PAUL, written to the churches. For the *epistles*, written to  
 "single persons, are placed last. And, because the *christians* then  
 "placed it, as the second *epistle* to the *Thessalonians* ; so it has ob-  
 "tained that place and title, generally, ever since." Answer. This  
 of



of it's being written, many years, before it was published, is all fiction. Grotius had no history, to lead him, to such a conclusion.

III. Grotius reckons, "that, in the end of this *epistle*, there is a great argument for his opinion; where the APOSTLE sais, [*The salutation of me, PAUL, with mine own hand. Which is the token, in every epistle. So I write.*] Now, PAUL would not have said so, if he had wrote an *epistle*, to *Thessalonica*, before this." Answer. (1.) The former *epistle to the Thessalonians* had this token; namely, the salutation, written by St. PAUL's own hand, [*The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST be with you, Amen.*] For that, as he himself sais, was his token, in every one of his *epistles*. (2.) What he sais, [*2 Thess. iii. 17.*] might be said, with as much propriety, to persons, to whom he had wrote, before. For, when they had seen the salutation, in a former *epistle*, in the APOSTLE's own hand-writing, they could compare them, and more easily judge, whether the salutation, in the *second epistle*, was written with his own hand, or no. Besides; if the former *epistle* had raised some difficulties, in the minds of the *christians*, at *Thessalonica*; or some scruples had been suggested, with respect to the genuinenesse of the former *epistle*; it was most natural for the APOSTLE, not onely to subjoin the same proof of the genuinenesse of the *second epistle*; but, also, to intimate that, if they examined it again, they would find that proof, in the former *epistle*. And that that was the distinguishing mark of the genuinenesse of every *epistle* of his.

IV. Grotius argues, "that the persons, to whom St. PAUL wrote this *epistle*, must have been *jewish christians*, converted, long before that APOSTLE came to *Thessalonica*; because it is said, [*chap. ii. 13.*] that GOD had chosen them, from the begining, unto salvation, &c. For that expression, [*from the begining,*] shows, that he was treating of the *jews*; who are said, *Eph. i. 12.* to have first trusted in CHRIST. Compare *Rom. xi. 16.*" Answer. Suppose it had been said, "that they had been converted, to the gospel, from the begining;" even that expression might have denoted no more, than that they were converted, among some of the first of the *idolatrous gentiles*; or soon after the APOSTLE came into *Macedonia*. So, [*in the begining of the gospel, Phil. iv. 15.*] signifies, when the APOSTLE first preached the gospel, in those parts. — Nay; Mr. Locke was of opinion, that *Eph. i. 12.* was not to be understood, of *jewish*, but of *gentile*, converts. — However; the APOSTLE, *2 Thess. ii. 13.* is not speaking of the time, when the persons, to whom he was writing, were converted to *christianity*; but of the time, when



Written from Corinth, An. Christi 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

GOD (determined to take them, for his people; or) chose them, unto salvation, through sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth. Now, that was, [from the beginning.] — And, in many places of the new testament, GOD is represented, as haveing chosen the gentiles, to be his people, of old, before the secular ages, from the beginning, or from the foundation of the world; and the like. [See Eph. i. 4, &c. and the note on Tit. i. 2.] Which was a plane proof, that GOD highly regarded them; and that they had a right to the gospel-privileges, as well as the jews. But the time of the conversion of any of the gentiles, to the christian religion, cannot, by any means, be inferred, from thence.

V. Grotius argues farther, from chap. iii. 6. “that, because this church was small: and, consequently, had not a presbytery; therefore, if any of them did not live, according to the rules of CHRIST, the other christians are ordered to avoid them. Whereas; if there had been a presbytery, they would have been excommunicated; as was the incestuous Corinthian.” Answer. (1.) Here is the same word, made use of, [2 Thess. iii. 14.] which is used, concerning the excommunication of the incestuous Corinthian, [1 Cor. v. 11.] *μη συναναμίσγυσθαι*, namely, that they were not to keep up familiar society with such disorderly christians, till they had repented, and reformed. The withdrawing themselves from such, [2 Thess. iii. 6.] is the same as, [1 Cor. v. 11.] with such a one, no not to eat. And Grotius, on that place, sais, “It was the custom of the hebrews, not to eat, in common, with those, who were in *Nidui*.” Now, *Nidui* was one kind, or degree, of excommunication, among the jews. [See Dr. Lightfoot’s works, vol. 2. p. 747, &c. Vitringa, de vet. synag. p. 378.] (2.) This church, at Thessalonica, seems not to have been one of the smallest of the churches, in, or about, that time; from any thing, that is said, to, or of, them. — As to their not yet haveing such fixed officers, as bishops and deacons; that was not peculiar to them: but common to all the churches, to which St. PAUL wrote; except that at Philippi; and, perhaps, also, that of the hebrew christians, at Jerusalem. [See the essay, annexed to 2 Tim. chap. 2.]

VI. Grotius goes on, and sais, “that the prophecies, in the second chapter of this epistle, ought to be referred to those things, which might happen in that age: because PAUL, in three places, supposed, that the last and universal judgment might happen, whilest he was liveing.” Answer. There is no occasion to confine the events, prophesied of, in the second chapter of this epistle, to what



what was to happen, in that age. For St. PAUL did not expect the general judgment, in his time. [See on 1 Thess. iv. 15.]

The arguments for this being *the second epistle to the Thessalonians*, are, such as follow; (1.) St. PAUL has directed it, *To the church of the Thessalonians, &c.* And, according to the constant tradition of the christian church, this has always been called *the second epistle to the Thessalonians*. Nor do I know of any author, *popish*, or *protestant*, *antient* or *modern*, of Grotius, his opinion, in this matter. He, evidently, was led into it, by his hypothesis, about *the man of sin*. (2.) Chap. ii. 15. The APOSTLE saith, "Stand fast, therefore, brethren, and hold the traditions; which you have been taught, whether by [our] word, or by *our epistle*." From whence, it has been, generally, gathered, that this APOSTLE had wrote one *epistle*, to the same persons, before this. Indeed, if, by *our epistle*, we were to understand this second *epistle*; then the force of this argument would be taken away. But, as neither ταύτης, nor τῆς, is expressed, there is no reason for that interpretation. And to say, "that St. PAUL had wrote a former *epistle* to the Thessalonians, which is now lost;" would be, to assert what there is no history, nor evidence, to support. The most natural interpretation, is, that St. PAUL here refers to (that which is commonly called) *the first epistle to the Thessalonians*. (3.) It is an argument of great force, against Grotius his conjecture, "that Silvanus and Timothy joined with St. PAUL, in the introduction of *the second epistle to the Thessalonians*; as they had done, in the introduction to *the first epistle*:" — It does not appear, that either Silvanus, or Timothy, was converted to the christian faith, 'till long after the death of Caligula. For Timothy was but a youth, when St. PAUL wrote his first *epistle* to him: which was in the year of CHRIST, 58. of Nero, 4. [See 1 Tim. iv. 12.] According to what has been observed above, Timothy seems to have been converted to christianity, at Lystra, by PAUL and BARNABAS; in the year of CHRIST, 46. of Claudius, 6. And not to have become the companion of St. PAUL, 'till the year of CHRIST, 50. of Claudius, 10. About which time, Silvanus, also, became the companion, and fellow-laborer, of that APOSTLE. [Acts xv. 40. and xvi. 1, &c.] Now, as these two evangelists assisted this APOSTLE, in planting the church, at Thessalonica, it was very natural for them to join, with him, in the introduction of *the first epistle* to that church. And, as they were still with him, when he wrote *this second epistle*; they, with as great propriety, joined with the APOSTLE again, in the introduction; as being well known to the Thessalonians, and solici-

Written  
from  
Corinth,  
An. Christi  
52.  
Claud. 12.  
Book III.  
Ch. V.  
Sect. X.  
Acts  
xviii  
11.



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11.

tous for their persevering in the true *christian faith* and practice. (4.) It is an argument of great weight, for this being *the second epistle to the Thessalonians*, "that there is a plane reference, in *this epistle*, to many things, contained, in *the former epistle*." There, St. PAUL mentions their conversion to the *christian faith*; here, their increase therein. In *the former epistle*, he had intimated, that CHRIST's coming to judgment, would be sudden and surprizing; here, he takes pains, to guard them against thinking, that it would be presently, or soon. In *the first epistle*, he had, briefly and gently, admonished some disorderly persons, not to be idle, nor burthensome to others: here, he enlarges upon that particular, and reproves them more sharply; as they had not reformed, upon his former and gentle admonition. — But the correspondence, between the two *epistles*, will be considered, more particularly, hereafter.

"Mr. Whiston [in his *essay upon the apostolic constitutions*, p. 47; "110.] has contended, for placing the writing of *the two epistles to the Thessalonians*, in the year of OUR LORD, 67. that is, about "15 years later than we suppose them to have been written." — In the history of *the first epistle*, all his arguments have been answered, except two; which are taken from two passages in *this second epistle*. (1.) Mr. Whiston has observed, "that [2 *Thess.* ii. 7, &c.] the APOSTLE speaks of *the mystery of iniquity*, which did already work, in "the world; and was the prælude to *the man of sin*, himself." Answer. There were many corruptions, in the *christian church*, as early as the year of CHRIST, 52. And every corruption, was, in some measure, a *mystery of iniquity*, and a prælude to the coming of the *man of sin*. And, therefore, that passage will not determine the date of *this epistle*; much less that it was written in the year 67. (2.) Mr. Whiston has alleged, "that [2 *Thess.* iii. 17.] the "APOSTLE mentions his own hand-writing, as the token, in every "epistle; as if he had written, not a few, before that time." Answer. How strangely men do argue! And what very different conclusions do they draw, from the same premises? From this passage, Grotius argues, that the APOSTLE had not written any *epistle*, to a *christian church*, before this; at least, not to the *Thessalonians*." From this same passage, Mr. Whiston infers, "that the APOSTLE had written *epistles*, before this; and those not a few." Neither of their arguments are clear, or indubitable. For, suppose St. PAUL had written but one *epistle*, before this; and *the Thessalonians* had mistaken his meaning; or had, since that, received a letter, forged in his name; or had scruples raised, in their minds, about the genuineness of his former



mer epistle; he might, very reasonably, write the salutation, again, with his own hand; and inform them, that that was the token of the genuinenesse of every epistle of his; that is, of those, which he had written; or of those, which he should, afterwards, write.

Had we the account, which the APOSTLE received, from *Thessalonica*; or had we any other authentic history, of the circumstances of that church, since his writing the first epistle; we might, unquestionably, interpret this second epistle, with more justnesse and propriety, than any of the commentators have done; and, much more exactly, point out the beauty and emphasis of several expressions. But, as we have no such history, all, that we can do, is, to compare the two epistles themselves; and carefully observe, wherein they correspond, and wherein they vary. — We may reasonably præsume, that what the former epistle had done effectually, the APOSTLE would not attempt to do it over again. Though it is highly probable that he would do those things, by letter, as he was still absent; which he would have done, in person; if he had been present. For instance; that he would commend those who had behaved right, in order to confirm, and encourage, them. That if, in any thing, they had mistaken his meaning, he would (with all meeknesse and readinesse) set them right: that if, in any point, he thought, they were not fully instructed, he would endeavor to perfect that which was lacking in their faith: and that if, in any respect, any of them were grown worse, he would, more particularly, and more severely, reprehend them. — With this light, in our hand, we may, possibly, find out our way, through the history of the state of this church, at the time of writing this second epistle.

Whether the APOSTLE (after all his most earnest desire to see them again,) despaired of visiting his converts, at *Thessalonica*, for some time; or thought them sufficiently established, by what he had already done; or reckoned, that he had said enough, concerning that desire, and intention, of his; and that, to have said more, would have been improper; unlesse he had had a fair prospect of returning shortly: — Whatever was the reason, I say, he takes no notice, in this second epistle, of his purpose, or desire, to visit them, again, in a little time. He did, indeed, visit them, once or twice, after this. [Acts xx. 1, — 4.] But that was at the interval of four or five years. And, therefore, he had no prospect of that, when he wrote this epistle. — He had, in the former epistle, given them such affectionate and pressing dissuaves from all manner of impurity: and had so fully shown, that imitateing their beathen neighbors, in their funeral lamentations,

Written from Corinth, An. Christi 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.



Written  
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52.  
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Book III.  
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II.

mentations, was highly improper, as they had the prospect of a resurrection to perfect and everlasting felicity; that he did not see occasion to add any thing farther, upon either of these two heads. — He had, likewise, intreated them to pay a proper deference, unto such, as labored among them, in instructing and admonishing them, and, in præsideing over their religious assemblies. And, then recommended it, to the præsidents of that church, to do their duty. And, as he is, in *the second epistle*, wholly silent, with respect to both these particulars; we may reasonably præsume, there was no occasion, to add any thing farther, concerning them.

This was written the second of all St. PAUL's *epistles*. By whose hands it was sent, does not now appear. But *the great APOSTLE* of *the gentiles* did not want messengers, attendents, or persons ready to minister unto him.

*The second epistle to the Thessalonians.*

- “THEY had now, for some time, professed the *christian religion*  
 “And, therefore, the APOSTLE doeth not (as in the *first epistle*) in-  
 “large, upon the reception, which the *gospel* had met with, upon it's first  
 “appearance among them; nor upon his own planting it, with the most  
 “disinterested views, and amidst so many difficulties and discouragements.  
 Chap. I. “But he wrote, again; in his own name, and in the name of *Silvanus* and  
 “*Timothy*. And then, (after an *introduction*, like to that, in the *former e-*  
 “*pistle*) he commendeth the *Thessalonians*, for their increase in faith and  
 “love; and tells them, that he gloried, in other churches, because of their  
 “steadfastness in the faith, and their patience under persecution.  
 “He then, with great propriety, takes notice, that their persecution  
 “was a clear proof of a righteous judgment to come; when their persecu-  
 “tors should meet with their proper recompence; and the righteous be de-  
 “livered out of all their afflictions. And all this (he assured them) would  
 “take place, when JESUS CHRIST returns, with pomp and majesty, as u-  
 “niversal judge. And, to that end, he prayed, that GOD would carry on  
 “their faith and holiness, unto perfection; that CHRIST might be glorifi-  
 “ed in them, and they in him.  
 Chap. II. “Haveing heard, that his discourse, concerning the sudden coming of  
 “CHRIST, had been misunderstood, or perverted; he takes particular care  
 “to rectifie the mistake, into which, the *Thessalonians* had fallen: assure-  
 “ing them, that a remarkable apostasie would first happen; and that there  
 “would appear, in the *christian church*, one, who would deserve the name  
 of



## The second epistle to the Thessalonians.

I 35

" of the man of sin, and son of perdition, and who would, with intolerable  
 " pride and arrogance, exalt himself above all the potentates on earth.  
 " Of this, the APOSTLE had informed them, when he was at *Thessalonica*;  
 " and told them, what it was, that hindered the appearance of that tyrannical  
 " power. The mystery of iniquity had then begun to operate; though  
 " its progress was but small. But, when the obstructing power should be  
 " removed, the grand enemy of truth and righteousness should be openly  
 " revealed; and would make use of such power and craft, as that the apostasy  
 " would spread, far and wide; and none, but the sincere lovers of  
 " truth and goodness, would escape the delusion. But, though those adversaries  
 " of pure christianity should triumph for a while, yet their end  
 " would be destruction. However; the APOSTLE thanked GOD, that his  
 " *Thessalonian* converts were chosen unto salvation. Unto which, they had  
 " been called, by the *gospel*: and which they would certainly obtain; if they  
 " held fast the doctrines, and observed the precepts, which he had delivered  
 " unto them. And he heartily prayed that they might do so.

Written from Corinth, An. Christi 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

" In the next place, the APOSTLE desires the prayers of the christians,  
 " of *Thessalonica*, for him and his two assistants; that they might preach  
 " the *gospel*, with like success, in other places, as they had done, at *Thessalonica*;  
 " and, particularly, that they might be delivered from enemies and persecutors;  
 " whom they met with, almost every where. And he intimates, that, though the  
 " *Thessalonians* could not escape persecution here, they might confide in CHRIST,  
 " to preserve them from evil; provided they continued in the love of GOD,  
 " and in the patient expectation of CHRIST's second coming.

Chap. III.

" I *Thess.* iv. 11, 12. the APOSTLE had, briefly and gently, admonished  
 " some idle and disorderly persons, to be quiet, and to mind their own business;  
 " that they might maintain themselves, in a creditable manner; and neither be  
 " burthen some to the other christians, nor give offence to their unbelieving  
 " neighbors. But, as they seem rather to have grown worse, he orders the other  
 " christians to shun all familiar society with them; that they might bring them  
 " to shame and to repentance. PAUL, Silas, and Timothy, had worked, diligently,  
 " with their own hands, for a subsistence; while they continued to preach the  
 " *gospel*, at *Thessalonica*. Though they might have been excused, considering  
 " their labors in the *gospel*, and their office. Such examples deserved imitation.  
 " And the APOSTLE commanded the disorderly persons, again, and that in the name of  
 " OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, to work, and maintain themselves; and industriously  
 " avoid being troublesome to others.

" In the first epistle, he had concluded, with [The grace of OUR LORD JESUS  
 " CHRIST be with you all, Amen.] He now concludes, in like manner; and informs  
 " them, that writing the salutation, with his own hand, was, the token of the  
 " genuineness of all the epistles, which he wrote."

Thus,



Written  
from  
Corinth,  
An. Christi  
52.  
Claud. 12.  
Book III.  
Ch. V.  
Sect. X.  
Acts  
xviii.  
11.

Thus, as it seemeth, we have taken the onely method, now left, of comeing at the state of the church, at *Theſſalonica*, when the APOSTLE wrote *this second epistle* to them. And the sum, of what has been said, comes to this; namely, "that *this epistle* may be looked upon, as a supplement to the former: that the main point, about which, he wrote *this second epistle*, was, to rectifie a mistake, into which, the *christians*, at *Theſſalonica*, had fallen, concerning the speedy comeing of CHRIST. A mistake! which, if not rectified, might have proved of dangerous consequence. — But he has, also, added other things of considerable importance; comforting the *Theſſalonians*, under their persecutions; and reprehending the idle and disorderly among them. — These three things, the APOSTLE hath more especially labored; in order to prevent the ruine, or great decay, of the *christian religion*, at *Theſſalonica*. — And it is to be hoped that he succeeded in his design. For we learn, from the *fathers*, that there was a *christian church*, at *Theſſalonica*, many ages, after this.

## CHAP. V. SECT. XI.

### *The history of St. PAUL's epistle to the GALATIANS.*

IT hath been observed, above, that St. PAUL had, before this, planted several *christian churches*, in *Galatia*. For we shall find, [*Acts* xviii. 23.] that, the next time, he passed through that country, "he confirmed such disciples, as were formerly converted to the *christian faith*." It hath been commonly thought, that the *epistle*, to the *churches* of *Galatia*, was written, but a little before the *first epistle* to the *Corinthians*. That opinion was grounded upon what the APOSTLE hath said; [*1 Cor.* xvi. 1, 2.] "Now, concerning the collection for the saints; as I have given orders in the *churches* of *Galatia*, so also do you. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay up part of his treasure, according as GOD hath prospered him: that there may be no collections to be made, when I come." But, though there are some general exhortations to beneficence and liberality; [*Gal.* vi. 6, — 10.] yet there are no such



such orders, throughout the *epistle* to the *Galatians*, concerning collections for the poor *christians*, in *Judæa*. And, therefore, nothing can be inferred, from thence, towards settling the date of *this epistle*. St. PAUL had, perhaps, sent that order, by some of his *assistants*; who were numerous; and very much imployed, in visiting the *churches* of his planting; and in carrying orders and messages from him; as well as in bringing him an account of the state of the *churches*. Or, (which seemeth more probable) he had ordered them to do so, when he came, again, to *Galatia*; and visited the *churches*, which he had planted there. For that was, before the writing his *first letter* to *Corinth*. As that passage, in the *first epistle* to the *Corinthians*, will not help us, in fixing the time of the writing the *epistle* to the *Galatians*; we are at liberty to fix the date of it, as other circumstances will best accord. And, it appeareth to me, that he wrote *that epistle*, now; dureing his long stay at *Corinth*. For, he had not onely sufficient leisure to write; by continueing, so long, in one city: but he hath given a plane intimation, in the *epistle* itself, that he wrote it, about this time. For he saith, [*Gal. i. 6.*] “ I wonder, that you are, *so soon*, turned aside, from him, who called you, by the grace, which is *manifested* in the *gospel* of CHRIST, unto another sort of *gospel*,” &c. From whence, it is evident, that he wrote, *soon after* he had been at *Galatia*. And there is no hint, through the *whole epistle*, of his haveing, at that time, been, more than once, among them. So that, it is very likely, the *epistle* was written, before his second journey to *Galatia*.

Written from Corinth, An. Christi 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11.

The epistle to the Galatians.

THE occasion of the *epistle*, was, the APOSTLE's haveing heard, that a certain *judaizeing christian*, a *false apostle*, had either crept in, or risen up, among them; who called in question his [*that is*, St. PAUL's] *apostolic authority*; insinuateing, that St PETER, and the APOSTLES of *the circumcision*, were much more to be regarded, and superior to him. That they never preached against the *circumcision* of the *converts*, from among the *gentiles*. But, that it was a doctrine peculiar to PAUL; who was onely an APOSTLE of *men*; and had not such extraordinary powers and illumination, as the other APOSTLES had. Nay; he seemeth to have intimated, that PAUL himself did, secretly, and at some times, preach up the necessity of *circumcision*, to the *gentile converts*; though, generally, and at other times, he insisted upon the contrary. The sum of the matter,



Writen from Corinth, An. Christi 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11.

“ter, was, the *false apostle* was very desirous to have made all the *gentile*  
 “*christians* submit to be *circumcised*; and so to have bound themselves to  
 “observe the *whole law of Moses*: as if the *gospel of CHRIST*, alone and  
 “of itself, had been insufficient to justify, and save, them.  
 “That it was but *one judaizing christian*, who made all that disturbance,  
 “appeareth probable to me, from what the *APOSTLE* hath said; [*Gal. v.*  
 “9, 10.] A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I trust in the *LORD*,  
 “concerning you, that you will not be of a different mind *from me*; but  
 “that he, who troubleth you, will fall under the condemnation, which *he*  
 “deserves; whosoever he be. And he seemeth to have been a man of an  
 “immoral character, from what is said, *chap. vi. 12, &c.* as not acting from  
 “religious views and motives; but out of vane-glory and fear, to curry  
 “favor with the *jews*, by increasing the number of *profelytes of righteous-*  
 “*ness*; and so escape the *persecution*, which the *unbelieving jews*, frequently,  
 “raised, against *St. PAUL*, and such as adhered to the *doctrine*, which he  
 “preached. If it be remembered, that these things occasioned the write-  
 “ing of *this epistle*; it will not be difficult to observe the propriety of the  
 “several parts, and expressions, of it.

Chap. I.

“In opposition to the insinuations of the *false apostle*, *St. PAUL* begins,  
 “with asserting his *apostolic character and authority*; that he was not made  
 “an *APOSTLE*, by any man; but by *JESUS CHRIST*; and *GOD the father*,  
 “who raised *JESUS* from the dead. And, after directing the *letter* to the  
 “*christian churches in Galatia*, (which was not a town, but a country; and  
 “had several *churches* in it,) he addressed himself, more particularly, to  
 “the *gentile christians*; and wished them all manner of blessing, from the  
 “*true GOD*; and from his son, *JESUS CHRIST*; in whom they now be-  
 “lieved. And, having observed, that the design of the *death of CHRIST*,  
 “was, to deliver men from this present, evil world; he then falleth into  
 “the grand design of his writing: letting the *christians in Galatia* know,  
 “that he was astonished, at the sudden change, which had happened among  
 “them; and at their so quickly throwing off their great regard to him and  
 “his *doctrine*; though he kept steady to it, at all times, and in every  
 “place. But he immediately softened that rebuke, by laying the blame  
 “on the *judaizing christian, the false apostle*; whom he, in the name of  
 “*CHRIST*, pronounces *accursed*, for preaching so directly contrary to the *re-*  
 “*velations*, which he himself had received from heaven, and published a-  
 “mong them. And he, in an oblique manner, representeth *that false a-*  
 “*postle*, as acting with a view to curry favor with the *jews*; which he  
 “himself scorned to do, when it interfered with truth and right.

“He then giveth them a brief *history* of his past life; as a farther vindi-  
 “cation of himself; and of the *doctrine*, which he had preached among them.  
 “He was, at first, a *zealous pharisee*, and a violent *persecutor* of the *christians*.  
 “But, when the *gospel* was reveled to him, (from *GOD*, who had, from  
 “his birth, designed him for the *APOSTLESHIP* of the *gentiles*;) he did not  
 “consult with any man; nor go up to *Jerusalem*, to learn the *doctrine* of  
 “*christianity*, from any of the *APOSTLES*. But he went, and preached the  
*gospel*,



“ *gospel*, in *Arabia*; and went not up to *Jerusalem*, ’till after three years. *Written from*  
 “ At which time, he saw none of the *APOSTLES*, except *PETER* and *JAMES*. *Corinth,*  
 “ And, with them, he continued onely fifteen days. Which had been too *An. Christi*  
 “ short a time, to have learned the scheme of the *christian doctrine*; if he *53.*  
 “ had then been ignorant of it. But he preached it before, in a distant *Claud. 13.*  
 “ country; where there was no man to teach it him. And was so much *Book III.*  
 “ a stranger, among the *christian churches* of *Judæa*, that they had most *Ch. V.*  
 “ of them never seen him. Onely they had heard, with joy, that their *Sect. XI.*  
 “ great enemy, and persecutor, was become a *christian*; and that he preach- *Acts*  
 “ ed *that doctrine*, which once he destroyed. From all this, it plainly ap- *xviii.*  
 “ peared that he had received the *revelation* of the *gospel*; not from *men*, *II.*  
 “ but from *OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST*, himself. — And, that he never, *Chap. II.*  
 “ secretly, or openly, favored the sentiments of the *judaizing christians*; he  
 “ farther proveth, from his takeing *Titus*, an *uncircumcised gentile christian*,  
 “ up with him, to *Jerusalem*; and there opposing the *judaizing christians*;  
 “ who would have had *Titus* to have been *circumcised*, and brought into  
 “ subjection to the whole *law of Moses*. And, that he learned no part of  
 “ the *gospel*, from the other *APOSTLES*, when he was, then, at *Jerusalem*,  
 “ with them; (*namely*, fourteen years after his own conversion;) he show-  
 “ eth, in that he went thither, according to a *divine revelation*; and com-  
 “ municated the *gospel*, which he had preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, unto  
 “ *JAMES*, *PETER*, and *JOHN*. Whereby, he added to their knowlege,  
 “ though they could add nothing to his. Onely he desired, that they  
 “ would, for some time, keep it a secret, from the *christians*, at *Jerusa-*  
 “ *lem*; for fear the *zeleots*, among them, should make a bad use of it.  
 “ Nay; those pillars in the *church*, those most eminent *APOSTLES*, in whom  
 “ the *judaizers* so much gloried; — even *they*, upon a careful observation  
 “ of their illumination and miraculous powers, acknowleged both *PAUL*,  
 “ and *BARNABAS*, for brother *APOSTLES*; and of equal dignity and au-  
 “ thority with themselves; giving unto them the right-hand of fellowship;  
 “ and agreeing that they should go to the *beathens*, as they did to the *jews*.  
 “ They did, indeed, propose their makeing a collection, in the *gentile*  
 “ *churches*, for the use of the poor *jewish christians*; especially in *Judæa*.  
 “ But that, also, *St. PAUL* had designed to do, before they mentioned it.  
 “ Nay; (which might set him, not onely upon a level with, but even ex-  
 “ alt him above, that renowned *APOSTLE* of the *circumcision*) he letteth  
 “ them know, that, when *PETER* came, down, from *Jerusalem*, to *An-*  
 “ *tioch*; and, out of fear of the *judaizers*, acted so, as tended to betray  
 “ the liberty of the *gentile converts*; and their freedom from *circumcision*,  
 “ and the *burthen of the law*; he publicly reproveth him; and that very  
 “ justly: putting him in mind, that the *jewish converts* could not expect  
 “ *justification*, by the *law of Moses*; and, therefore, there could be no just  
 “ reason to bring the *gentile christians* under *that law*. For the *gospel*, alone,  
 “ was able to justify, and save, all, that imbraced it; and, by the tenor  
 “ of the *law* itself, and especially according to the *prophecies* contained in  
 “ it,



Written from Corinth, An. Christi 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11. Chap. III.

" it, the obligation to it was dissolved, upon the erecting the *spiritual king-*  
 " *dom* of the *messiah*. After the APOSTLE had, thus, destroyed the force of  
 " all, that his adversaries had alleged; he appealeth to the *Galatians*, them-  
 " selves, whether it was not reasonable to regard him and his *doctrine*? —  
 " Especially, as they had, from him, received the *gift of the holy spirit*;  
 " and that, in consequence of their imbraceing (not the *law of Moses*, but)  
 " the *gospel of CHRIST*? Nay; that they had also suffered for their *christianity*;  
 " (very probably, from the *unbelieving jews*; who were incensed that they  
 " would not submit to the *law of Moses*.) And, if they would not ren-  
 " der their past sufferings in vane, they ought to persevere, as they had  
 " begun.  
 " As a farther confutation of the doctrine of the *judaizers*, he goeth  
 " back, as far as the *Abrahamic covenant*; and sheweth them, that, by such  
 " a *faith*, as produced *obedience* to GOD, *Abraham* himself was justified; and  
 " that the *spiritual seed of Abraham*, were all, that had like faith and obe-  
 " dience, whether *jews* or *gentiles*. For, in him, all nations were to be bless-  
 " ed. Whereas; the *law* condemned every one, without mercy, who  
 " transgressed any part of it. And (without haveing recourse to the *gospel*,  
 " or the *Abrahamic covenant*, which was of the same kind with the *gospel*,)  
 " such, as were under the *law*, and transgressed, could not hope for mercy.  
 " But that *CHRIST*, by dying, had delivered the *jewish christians*, from the  
 " bondage and curse of the *law*; and had obtained, of his father, that,  
 " through him, even the *gentile converts*, also, should inherit the blessings,  
 " promised to *Abraham*, and his seed. As an earnest of which, those *gen-*  
 " *tile christians*, at *Galatia*, had received the *spirit*. — Mere human  
 " compacts are not altered, without the consent of both the parties; much  
 " lesse the divine covenant and ingagement. Now; it was impossible, that  
 " the *law*, or the *Sinai-covenant*, should alter the covenant, made, between  
 " GOD and *Abraham*, in behalf of all mankind; even *that covenant*, by  
 " which GOD promised the *everlasting inheritance*. A blessing, which there  
 " was no possibility of obtaining, by the observation of the *law of Moses*!  
 " It was impossible (I say) that the *law*, or the *Sinai covenant*, should alter  
 " *that covenant*, made, with *Abraham*, between GOD and all mankind. For  
 " a mediator is not a mediator, where there is onely one person, or party,  
 " concerned. Whereas; GOD alone, of the two parties, concerned in the  
 " *Abrahamic covenant*, was then present, at *mount Sinai*. Instead of the o-  
 " ther party, which was *all mankind*, there was onely the one nation of *Is-*  
 " *rael*. The *law*, therefore, of which *Moses* was the *mediator*, and which  
 " was made between GOD and that *one nation of Israel* onely, could not  
 " possibly disannull the *Abrahamic covenant*, which extended to *all mankind*:  
 " because both parties must be present, or consent, to the disannulling of  
 " a *covenant*, as well as to the makeing of it. The *law*, though delivered  
 " in so pompous a manner, was given, onely to prevent the nation of *Is-*  
 " *rael*, till *CHRIST* came, from falling into the transgressions; *that is*, the  
 " *idolatry* and wickednesse, of the surrounding nations. In this view, there  
 " is no clashing between the *law* and the *Abrahamic covenant*, or the *gospel*.  
 " On



“ On the contrary ; the *law* tended to præpare the *jews* for the *gospel*. For, *Written from*  
 “ as all are sinners, all have need of mercy ; which the *law* manifested no- *Corinth,*  
 “ thing of. It, therefore, like a severe tutor to children, made the *jews*, *An. Christi*  
 “ very justly, long to get out of that state of *minority* ; and to wish for *53.*  
 “ the mercy and liberty of the *gospel*. Under which, the *gentile*, as well *Claud. 13.*  
 “ as the *jewish*, *converts*, are looked upon, as the *sons of GOD* ; come to *Book III.*  
 “ years of maturity ; and emerged, into the state of freedom and liberty. *Ch. V.*  
 “ For there is, now, no distinction ; but *all believers* are the *seed of Abra-* *Sect. XI.*  
 “ *ham*, and heirs of the promised blessing. Antecedent to the *gospel-state*, *Acts xviii.*  
 “ the *jews*, though heirs of the promise, were in bondage to the *law* ; as the *11.*  
 “ heir to an earthly inheritance, who is treated like a servant ; *that is*, with *Chap. IV.*  
 “ rigor and subjection, durement his minority. And the *gentile-converts* had  
 “ been, likewise, in bondage ; not indeed to the *law of Moses*, but to *ido-*  
 “ *latry*, and other vices. But now, *GOD* had sent his son, in an human  
 “ body, to adopt the *gentiles*, as well as to deliver the *jews* from their state  
 “ of *minority*. And, as a clear proof of this, he had given them the *spi-*  
 “ *rit* of his son, *JESUS CHRIST* ; which might fully satisfy them of their  
 “ *adoption*. And it would have been a præposterous thing, for those *gên-*  
 “ *tile converts*, when they had escaped from the *bondage of idolatry*, to  
 “ submit to the *bondage* of the *Mosaic law* ; which was onely the *rudiments*  
 “ of *christianity* : or of that *more perfect religion*, which they had imbraced.  
 “ The next argument, which the *APOSTLE* makes use of, is, to put  
 “ them in mind of the great respect and affection, which they had shown  
 “ him, when he planted the *gospel* among them. Though he had labored  
 “ under great weaknesse of body, which he calleth *a remarkable trial in*  
 “ *the flesh* ; alludeing (very probably) to what he, elsewhere, termed *his thorn*  
 “ *in the flesh*. But, notwithstanding that trial, they did not then despise him ;  
 “ and he could not think of any thing, that should, since, have alienated  
 “ their affections from him ; unlesse his freedom and opennesse in telling  
 “ them the truth. They were now, indeed, fond of another. But it was  
 “ reasonable to continue that affection to the *APOSTLE*, in his absence ;  
 “ which they had manifested, when he was present. For, he had a most  
 “ tender affection for them ; and was in pangs, till they were brought into  
 “ the right way again. And, finally, he concludeth his discourse, con-  
 “ cerning the point in difference, between him and the *judaizeing christians*,  
 “ in a beautiful *allegory*, taken from the prophet *Isaiab* ; thereby refering  
 “ the *judaizeing christians* to those writings, which they so highly valued.  
 “ For, whereas it is said, in *Genesis*, that *Abraham* had two sons ; the one,  
 “ *that is*, *Ismael*, by *Hagar*, the bond-woman ; and the other ; *that is*  
 “ *Isaac*, by *Sarah*, his wife, or the free-woman : These things are *allegorized*,  
 “ by

<sup>a</sup> Gal. iv. 24. Ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα. “Which things are allegorized.” This is the true translation. For which I am indebted to the dissertation, that Mr. Peirce has published, on this place. Where it is shown, that these things were allegorized, not in the history of Moses, but by the prophet Isaiab. Which removeth the grand difficulty of this period of holy scripture ; as the same dissertation hath, likewise, removed many of the lesser difficulties, with respect to the reading and interpretation of this place. [See dissertation 1. annexed to Mr. Peirce’s paraphrase and notes on St. PAUL’s epistle to the Philippians.]



Written

from

Corinth,

An. Christi

53.

Claud. 13.

Book III.

Ch. V.

Sect. XI.

Acts

xviii.

II.

Chap. V.

“ by the prophet. [*Isa. liv. 1, &c.*] And, in the *prophet's allegory*, these  
 “ *two women* represent the *two covenants*. The one, which came from *mount*  
 “ *Sinai*, and bringeth such, as are under it, into a state of bondage. Which,  
 “ in the *allegory*, answered to *Hagar*; and, in a lively manner, represented  
 “ the state of the *earthly Jerusalem*, or of the *jews*; who were, in the *apo-*  
 “ *stle's* days, voluntarily in *bondage to the law*; notwithstanding the *free-*  
 “ *dom*, which was offered them, by the *gospel*. Whereas; the *spiritual*, or  
 “ *heavenly, Jerusalem*; the church of the *messiah*, collected from among  
 “ both *jews and gentiles*; was, in the *prophet's allegory*, represented, by *Sarah*,  
 “ the free-woman; who was *the mother of the pious*, as *Abraham* was their  
 “ father. This is the true meaning of the *prophet's* words, when he saith,  
 “ *Rejoice thou barren, who did'st not bear any children before. Break forth*  
 “ *into singing, and cry aloud; thou who (till thou wast past the usual age)*  
 “ *did'st not travail with child. For more numerous are the children of [Sarah,]*  
 “ *who was desolate, and past hopes; than of [Hagar,] who became Abra-*  
 “ *ham's wife, and bare him a son; when, according to the course of nature,*  
 “ *he might expect to have children.* According to this *allegory*, we, *true*  
 “ *christians*, are, like *Isaac*, the children of the promise. And I may car-  
 “ ry the resemblance farther. For, as *Ishmael*, who was borne after the  
 “ flesh, persecuted *Isaac*, who was given to his parents, miraculously, and  
 “ according to an extraordinary *promise*; even so it is now. For, in like  
 “ manner, the *jews* persecute us, the spiritual seed of *Abraham*. But, as  
 “ the *bond woman* and her son were cast out, without shareing in the in-  
 “ heritance of *Isaac*. So shall the *unbelieving jews* be debarred from par-  
 “ takeing of like liberty and privileges with us. Onely remember, that,  
 “ as you are free, you ought not to intangle yourselves, any more, with  
 “ a yoke of bondage. Nay; I, *PAUL*, (who am charged with secretly fa-  
 “ voring the sentiments of the *judaizers*; even I *PAUL*) declare unto you,  
 “ that, if you be *circumcised*, and become subject to the *burthen* of the *law*  
 “ of *Moses*, you make void your *christianity*. For the *gospel* must either  
 “ save you wholly, or not at all. But it is sufficiently able to save  
 “ *jews, or gentiles*; and that without distinction; if they conform to what  
 “ it requireth.

“ One man hath done all this mischief among you. But, I hope, you  
 “ will passe, upon him, the censure, which he deserves. Nay; I could  
 “ wish (if there be no hopes of his *reformation*) that god would even cut  
 “ him off; rather than you should be subverted from *true christianity*. As  
 “ for my own part, I am still persecuted, by the *unbelieving jews*; because  
 “ I preach up the freedom of the *gentiles*, from *circumcision*, and the *Mo-*  
 “ *saic law*. And I would have you assert your *liberty*. Onely, do not think  
 “ yourselves at liberty to sin. No! you are still under bonds and ingage-  
 “ ments, to live in purity; and to love one another. For this is, in  
 “ the noblest sense, to fulfil the *whole law*; as well as to comply with the  
 “ design of the *gospel*. The works of the *flesh*, are, evidently, all man-  
 “ ner of vice and impurity. And (as *christians*) you are carefully to avoid  
 “ them;



" them ; or else you cannot hope to inherit *the kingdom of glory*. But the *Written*  
 " fruit of *the spirit*, which *christianity recommendeth*, is all manner of good- *from*  
 " nesse and purity. Such things, you are most carefully to practise. And *Corinth,*  
 " such things, *all true christians* will practise. *An. Christi*  
 " Haveing, thus, finished the grand design of the *epistle*, the APOSTLE re- *53.*  
 " commends to them, the dealing tenderly with such as offended ; and not to *Claud. 13.*  
 " treat them with pride and insolence, as the *false apostle* seemeth to have done. *Book III.*  
 " In the next place, he exhorteth them to be generous to their instructors, and *Ch. V.*  
 " to the *presidents* of their *churches* ; letting them know, that, according as *Sect. XI.*  
 " they then sowed, so should they afterwards reap. And, that they ought *Acts*  
 " to do good to all men ; but more especially to their *fellow-christians*. *xviii.*  
 " Upon takeing notice, that he had written all this long letter, *with his* *11.*  
 " *own hand* ; (which was what he did not usually do. For commonly he *Chap. VI.*  
 " either dictated, and another wrote ; or he wrote the *original epistles* ; and,  
 " when others had transcribed them, he sent the *copies* to the *churches*. But,  
 " upon saying that he had written *all this letter, with his own hand* ;) his  
 " anxiety for the *Galatians* broke out, again. And he let them know, that  
 " the *judaizers* would make them *profelytes of righteousness* ; onely, that they  
 " might glory among the *jews*, and escape persecution. But, as for him-  
 " self, he gloried, *onely*, in *pure, unmixed christianity* ; which raised him  
 " above all temporal considerations ; and which regarded no such distinc-  
 " tion as that of *jews* and *gentiles*. Upon them, who held *this pure chris-*  
 " *tian revelation*, and conformed to it, he pronounceth peace ; and al-  
 " legeth his own sufferings, as strong proofs of his sincerity. By all  
 " which, he labored to establish them, in what he had taught them. And  
 " then, he *concludeth*, with his usual benediction ; wishing all the *brethren*,  
 " the favor of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. *Amen.*"



## C H A P. V. S E C T. XII.

St. PAUL brought, by the jews, before Gallio : But acquitted ; because he was not accused of any offence, against the civil, or roman, law. Acts xviii. 12, — 18.

An. Christi  
53.  
Claud. 13.  
Book III.  
Ch. V.  
Sect. XII.  
Acts  
xviii.  
12.

THE provinces of the *roman empire* were of two sorts : *Cæsarean* ; or such as were subject to the *emperor* : and *proconsular* ; or such as were subject to the people and the *senate*. *Achaia* was a *proconsular province*, under *Augustus Cæsar*. *Tiberius*, at the request of the *Achaians*, made it a *Cæsarean province*. About eight years before this, *Claudius* restored it to the *senate*<sup>a</sup> ; and, from that time, a *proconsul* was sent into this country. *Gallio* was the present *proconsul*. And, though the country, subject to him, was all *Greece* ; yet he was, by the *romans*, called the *proconsul of Achaia*. St. LUKE, therefore, appeareth to have been master of all the circumstances, which he had occasion to mention ; and to have spoken, of this affair, with the greatest propriety. This *Gallio* was *Marcus Annæus Novatus*, elder brother to the famous *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, the *stoic* philosopher, and *Nero's* tutor. But, having been adopted by *Lucius Junius Gallio*, he was, from him, called *Gallio*. It was, most probably, by the interest of his brother, *Seneca*, that *Gallio* was made *proconsul of Achaia*. For *Agrippina*, who was wife to the *emperor*, *Claudius*, and mother to *Nero*, had such influence over *Claudius*, that almost all things were managed, according to her direction. And her son's *præceptor* would (as it is probable) be readily gratified, in making such a request, for his brother. *Seneca* hath described *Gallio*, as a man of the most mild and excellent disposition<sup>b</sup> ; composed in him-

Ver. 12. <sup>a</sup> See Dr. Lardner's *Credibility*, part i. p. 33, 34. second edition ; p. 51, — 57. third edition. Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

<sup>b</sup> *Seneca, præfat. ad natural. quæst. l. 4.* Solebam tibi dicere, Gallionem fratrem meum (quem nemo non parum amat ; etiam qui amare plus non potest) alia vitia non nosse, hoc etiam odisse. — Hoc quoque loco blanditiis tuis restitit, ut exclamares invenisse te inexpugnabilem virum adversus insidias, quas nemo non in sinum recepit.

Cœpisti mirari comitatem, & incompressam suavitatem, quæ illos quoque, quos transit, abducit, gratuitum etiam in obvios meritum. Nemo enim mortalium unitam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus ; cum interim tanti naturalis boni vis est, uti artem simulationemque non redoleat.



himself, and benign to mankind in general. And his behavior, upon the following occasion, agreeth very well with the character, which his brother hath given him. For, when he was *proconsul of Achaia*, and resided at *Corinth*, the *unbelieving jews* arose, unanimously, against St. PAUL. And, seizing upon that APOSTLE, they brought him before Gallio's tribunal; allegeing, against him, "That he, though a *jew*, persuaded men to worship GOD, in a different way, "from that, which was præscribed in the *law of Moses*." Alluding, partly to his teaching them to worship GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, as mediator; but, principally, to his admitting *uncircumcised gentiles* to full communion with such as had been *jews*, without requiring of them to conform to the ceremonies of the *jewish law*. — The truth is; that *religious* and *civil* affairs are of an intirely distinct nature: that the *latter* onely come under the cognizeance of the magistrate; and, that it is not his business to interpose, in an affair relating to the *former*; any farther, than to keep the peace; and to allow all good subjects, openly to profess their own religion; and to worship in their own way. Accordingly; when the APOSTLE was going to speak; Gallio would not give him the trouble of making an *apologie*; because he did not look upon him as a criminal. But he said to the *jews*, his accusers, "If you had brought "any accusation, against this man, of the breach of the *civil law*, "such as rebellion, fraud, or murder; or any such notorious crimes; "there would have been reason, why I should have borne with you, "in your eager prosecution of this man. But, if you have nothing to "bring, before me, but questions concerning *religious* disputes and "opinions; (As whether the *gentiles* shall be admitted into the *church*, "or upon what terms? Or what name shall be given to this, or "that, person; as whether JESUS shall be called the CHRIST, or "MESSIAH? Or concerning *your law*; namely, whether it obligeth "all men to be *circumcised*, who go over to the worship of *your GOD*?) "— as it is not my proper province, I will not concern myself with "such things; look you to them. For I will not be judge, in any "such matters." Then he ordered them, not without threatenings, to depart from the tribunal. " [Would to GOD that all princes,

Vol. II. T "judges,

An. Christi  
53.  
Claud. 13.  
Book III.  
Ch. V.  
Sect. XII.  
Acts  
xviii.  
12, &c.

*Lib. i. epist. 104.* Istud mihi in ore Domini mei Gallionis, qui cum in *Achaia* febrem habere cœpisset; protinus navem ascendit, clamitans, non corporis esse, sed loci morbum.

*Dion Cassius*, also, [l. 60. p. 688, 689. alias 685, 686.] intimates that he was a man of great wit, and good sense.



An. Christi 53.  
 Claud. 13.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. V.  
 Sect. XII.  
 Acts  
 xviii.  
 16, &c.

“ judges, and magistrates, had always been of Gallio's mind! and discouraged such tumults, by protecting the innocent, and punishing the *persecutors*! And so left every one to judge, for himself, in matters of *religion*; which concern, onely GOD, and a man's own conscience! ]” However; the *jews* did not pay a proper regard to Gallio's orders. They had, indeed, the power of scourging, in their *synagogues*, whom they thought proper, of their *own nation* and *religion*. But they<sup>c</sup> were, at present, so enraged and insolent, as to seize upon *Softbenes*: (who had been one of the chief rulers of their synagogue; but was now, I suppose, become a convert to *christianity*; ) and to beat him, even before the tribunal. However; Gallio minded none of these things. All their insolence could not provoke him to inter-meddle, as long as they beat onely one of their own people. And, though it was not in the *synagogue*, but before the tribunal; he chose rather to let it passe; as considering, very probably, the mutinous, seditious, temper of the *jews*; which rather increased, by opposition. The APOSTLE, thus screened by Gallio, tarried, at *Corinth*, a good while longer. So that his stay, in that city, was, in all, about two years. And, considering his unwearied diligence: and that he did not use to stay long, in any place, unlesse he had a prospect of succeſſe; we may reasonably suppose, that he had gathered a large *church*, there. And, from St. LUKE's account, in the *Acts of the APOSTLES*; and especially from St. PAUL's *two epistles* to *Corinth*; it appeareth, that most of that *church* consisted of *converts*, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*.

Ver. 17. <sup>c</sup> Many have thought, that the *greeks* beat *Softbenes*, in complaisance to Gallio; and to check the insolence of the *jews*. It will therefore be proper to mention the reasons, why I understand it otherwise. *The Alexandrian Ms. Barb. 1.* the *Veleſian* various lections; as well as the *coptic* and *vulgar versions*, have not [οἱ Ἕλληνες, the *greeks*.] And one Ms. readeth [Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, the *jews*.] [See Dr. Mill on this place, and prolegom. 1351.] But, supposeing Ἕλληνες onely left out; the connection would incline one to understand, what followeth, of the *jews*. For, it is highly probable, that *Softbenes* was now a favorer of the *christians*; or, rather himself a *christian*; and that he is mentioned as such, 1 Cor. i. 1. For, though he was then, with St. PAUL, at *Ephesus*; it is evident that he must have been well known, at *Corinth*, from his joining with the APOSTLE, in that *epistle* to the *Corinthians*. Besides; the sense of the place doeth much better agree to that expreſſion; [But Gallio cared for none of these things:] that is, All the insolence of the *jews* did not move him, so far as to interpose, or give an hearing to the dispute between St. PAUL and them.



C H A P. V. S E C T. XIII.

St. PAUL, and his companions, go to Cenchræa; there he shaveth himself, as being under the vow of a nazarite: Goeth to Ephesus; and, from thence, to Jerusalem. Acts xviii. 18, — 22.

Silas and Timothy seem still to have continued at Corinth. But the APOSTLE, having taken leave of the christian brethren, there, set out for Syria. And, along with him, Aquila and Priscilla. When they arrived at Cenchræa, the eastern port of the Isthmus, St. PAUL shaved his head; because he was under the nazarite's vow. For to the jews he became as a jew, and made all lawful concessions, in compliance with their prejudices; as we shall see, in other instances, in the progress of this history. He seems to have made this vow, upon some remarkable deliverance from his enemies; perhaps, upon the account of Gallio's screening him from the fury of the unbelieving jews. And, possibly, some of the jewish christians, at Corinth, might also be in danger of throwing off christianity itself, if St. PAUL had not condescended so far; in that, or some other, instance. It is evident, the judaizers did, afterwards, make a very great disturbance, in that church. But, whatever was the particular reason; it appears that St PAUL submitted to that jewish custom. From Cenchræa, they went to Ephesus. And there he left Aquila and Priscilla. For the short time, that the APOSTLE now tarried, at Ephesus, which seemeth to have been but one sabbath-day; he went into the synagogue, and discoursed with the jews; and with such gentiles, as usually attended the synagogue-service; concerning the christian doctrine. But, when they desired him to stay longer, with them; he refused; and took his leave of them; telling them, that "he must, by all means, go up to Jerusalem, upon the account of his being under the nazarite's vow." And, that he chose

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18, &c.

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Ver. 21. \* Si quis vovisset nazireatum, extra terram [scil. Judeæ,] proficisci debuit in terram; & illic votum implere. [Eduioth iv. 11. apud Reland. de antiq. heb. de sacris personis, p. 277.] Concerning the nazarite's vow, see, also, Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel-history, part i. b. i. c. 9. § 7.



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 Claud. 14.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. V.  
 Sect.  
 XIII.  
 Acts xviii,  
 21, &c.

“to be there, time enough, to keep the *approaching festival*, in that city. But I will promise, saith he, (if it please GOD to permit me) that, after that, I will return to you, again.” Loosening from *Ephesus*, he sailed to *Cæsarea*. From whence, he went up, to pay his respects to the *christian church*, at *Jerusalem*<sup>b</sup>: Which, as it was the *mother-church*, or the *first*, of all the *christian churches*; was, by way of eminence, called THE CHURCH. When he had seen the *christians*, at *Jerusalem*; affectionately saluted them; made his offering, as a *nazarite*, at the *temple*; and kept the feast, in that city; he left the place; and went down, to *Antioch*, in *Syria*. And there ended his *second apostolic journey*.

## C H A P. VI.

*The continuation of the jewish and roman history.*

## S E C T. I.

*The character and death of Claudius Cæsar, the roman emperor.*

THE emperor *Claudius* had been, from his childhood, afflicted with some great and obstinate diseases; which not onely affected his body, but impaired his understanding. So that, when he grew up to years of maturity, he was not reckoned fit for any employment, public or private.<sup>a</sup> But, besides his bodily disorders, he was very much addicted to gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery; and was of such a timorous temper,<sup>b</sup> that, when he came to the empire, he generally acted according to the influence of his favorites, or of such as advised him.<sup>c</sup> And, being under a good influence, in the former part of his reign; he, in many particulars, behaved like a wise and good prince.<sup>d</sup> He abolished the wicked acts of *Caligula*, and hearkened to the advice of the *senate*; was afraid of oppressing the

Ver. 22. <sup>b</sup> See the reading of the *syriac version*, in *Tremellius*; and *Grotius*, upon the place.

<sup>a</sup> Sueton. in vit. Claud. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Dio, l. 60. p. 665, E.

<sup>c</sup> Sueton.

<sup>d</sup> *ubi supra*, c. 25. fin. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. init. Dio, *ubi supra*.

p. 667. Sueton. in Claud. c. 11, 12.



the people with taxes; and published *edicts* against luxury; which his own bad example must needs have rendered feeble and ineffectual. He did honor, even to the inferior magistrates; and would often administer justice, himself; so as to soften the rigor of the law, where it was too severe; or to give it more weight and terror, where it was too mild. For such is the imperfection of all *human laws*, that they cannot, without oppressing mankind, be equally extended to every case. It had been customary for masters to expose their slaves, when any tedious illneſſe ſeized them. To prevent which cruelty, *Claudius* published an *edict*; whereby he gave to ſuch ſlaves their freedom, and made it death to kill any of them.<sup>e</sup> When there was a ſcarcity, at *Rome*, he not onely provided as much plenty, as he could, at that time; but, with incredible labor and expence, he made a convenient port, at *Oſtia*, and encouraged navigation; that corne might be imported, in winter; as well as at other times of the year. Which, 'till then, had rarely been done. By theſe, and other like actions, he excedeingly endeared himſelf to the people. However; amidſt all his beneficence, he could not forbear diſcovering the cruelty of his diſpoſition. For he took delight in the combates of the *gladiators*; and contracted an habit of cruelty, by ſeeing them daily cut one another to pieces. The longer he reigned, the more he came under the power of his wives, and freedmen. They could, by artful inſinuations, raiſe in him an averſion to any perſon, or number of perſons; and thereby prevail upon him, to try, baniſh, or put them to death.<sup>f</sup> And, ſometimes, when he had done ſo, in a drunken fit, or through fear and perplexity of mind, he would afterwards call for the very perſons; and, being informed that they were put to death, by his order, he would lament, and be troubled for what he had done. In the fourth year of his reign, he made an expedition into *Britain*. His general, *Aulus Plautius*, had been here, for ſome time. And, *Claudius* longing for ſuch a triumph, as might be obtained, without any great danger; and concludeing, from what he had heard of *Plautius* his repeted ſucceſſe, that the country might be eaſily ſubdued; he came accordingly; and brought part of this iſland (about *Malden*, in *Effex*;) into ſubjection. But *Suetonius* informs us, that he did it, without a battle; or ſo much as the loſſe of one drop of blood.<sup>g</sup> After he had been in *England*, ſixteen days, he

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22.

<sup>e</sup> Sueton. in Claud. c. 25. Dio, p. 685.

Tacit. Annal. l. 11. init. & l. 12. c. 22; & 59. Dio, p. 670, &c.

Claud. c. 17.

<sup>f</sup> Sueton. ubi ſupra; c. 29; 37.

<sup>g</sup> In



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Claud. 14.  
Book III.  
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Sect. XIII.  
Acts  
xviii.  
22.

he returned ; and left his general *Plautius*, to reduce the rest of the *island*, as far as he was able. When the *senate* heard of his exploits, they decreed him a magnificent triumph ; and instituted anniversary games, in memory of the mighty transaction.<sup>h</sup> So low and abject were the minds of the *senators* now become ; in comparison to what they had been, before the pride and luxury of *Rome* made way for the tyranny, and usurpation, of the *Cæsars*. The first wife of *Claudius Cæsar*, was *Valeria Messalina* ; who was a lady of very bad fame, and so excessively leud, that she inveigled some ; and, by her great power, forced others, to her imbraces. But those adulterous intrigues were not thought sufficient. For she began to phansy that one husband was not enough, for a lady of her high station and quality. And, therefore, when *Claudius* was gone to *Ostia*, she married *Caius Silius*, in a public and magnificent manner.<sup>i</sup> She had forced him to divorce his own wife ; and had admitted him to an infamous familiarity before. But, after she had married him, she gave him a palace to live in ; declared him *consul*, and seems to have had a design to make him *emperor*. Nay ; it is said, that she had so far imposed upon *Claudius*, as to get him, before-hand, to sign the marriage-contract between her and *Caius Silius*. The *emperor's* freedmen, who were next in power, by virtue of their influence over their master, resented that flagrant conduct of hers. And, though they were almost afraid to acquaint *Claudius* with it, lest he should disbelieve it, and *Messalina* prevail to their destruction ; yet *Narcissus* found means to acquaint the *emperor* with what had happened ; and prevailed upon him, though not without some difficulty, to have *Caius Silius* and *Messalina*, with some others, apprehended, and put to death. After that, *Claudius* was desirous to marry *Agrippina*, the daughter of his brother *Germanicus*. And, because the *roman law* had prohibited such marriages, as *incestuous* ; he suborned some of the *senators* to procure a decree of the *senate*, “ by which, he should be “ obliged, as a thing highly conducive to the good of the *empire*, to “ take his niece, *Agrippina*, to wife ; and that others might be “ permitted to contract marriages, in the same degree of consanguinity.” But there were onely two, who followed his example. And they did it, out of a slavish complaisance to the *emperor*.<sup>k</sup> *Cnæus Domitius Ænobarbus* was *Agrippina's* former husband ; who left her with

<sup>h</sup> Dio, p. 680.  
Sueton. in Claud. c. 29.  
l. 12. c. 3, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Dio, p. 686. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. c. 12 ; 26.  
<sup>k</sup> Sueton. ubi supra ; c. 26. Tacit. Annal.



with a son, called *Domitius Nero*. Though she was not so infamously leud, as *Messalina*, she had as much the ascendent over *Claudius*. And, by that mean, arrived to great power. Of which, the two following, are remarkable instances. The first is, that, by means of *Vitellius*, she prevailed upon the emperor, to take away his daughter *Octavia*, from *Silanus*, to whom she had been contracted; and who was a man of noble descent and great merit; and to give her to her own son *Domitius Nero*. About a year after which, she succeeded in a much greater attempt; and prevailed upon *Claudius*, to adopt *Nero*, for his son and successor in the empire. Though he had a son of his own, by *Messalina*, called *Britannicus*; who was not many years younger than *Nero*.<sup>1</sup> As *Agrippina* increased in power, she grew very covetous and cruel. And, in many instances, behaved herself, altogether unbecomeing her dignity and character. So that it was not difficult to observe, that the emperor repented of his marrying her, and adopting her son. And, in one of his drunken fits, he had not scrupled to declare as much.<sup>m</sup> The discovery of *Claudius* his uneasiness alarmed *Agrippina*; and put her upon the desperate attempt, of plotting his death. She was grown so imperious, as to refuse him a sight of his son *Britannicus*, when he expressed his desire to see him. And (in one word) seems to have taken the whole power into her own hands. Such treatment roused the emperor; though he was so excedeing indolent. And *Narcissus*, one of his most faithful freedmen, stirred him up, to lessen her power, and restore to *Britannicus* what was properly his right. But the more he attempted such a revolution, the more he hastened his own ruine. For, from that time, *Agrippina* determined upon taking him off, by poison. Onely she remained in doubt, for some time, about the manner of giving it him; for fear it should prove ineffectual, and she perish in the attempt. She apprehended, that so great a drinker could not be taken off, without a large quantity of poison; unlesse she could procure some of an uncommon strength. At last, one *Locusta*, a woman, who was famous in the art of poisoning, furnished her with a strong and quick poison; which *Agrippina* wrapt up, in the fairest and largest mushroom, that she could find. And, putting it, upon a plate, with other mushrooms, she sate down by him, in expectation of the grand event. Mush-rooms

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<sup>1</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 3; 9. Sueton. in Claud. c. 27. Dio, p. 686. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. fin.

<sup>m</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 64. Sueton. in Claud. c. 43. Dio, p. 687, 688.



An. Christi 54. Claud. 14. Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. I. Acts xviii. 22. rooms were a favorite dish with *Claudius*. He, therefore, rejoiced at the sight of those, which *Agrippina* had provided for him. And soon fixed upon that, in which the poison was concealed, and greedily eat it up. *Agrippina* had made him drink very plentifully, before. And, upon his eating the poisoned mushroom, she had him taken away, from the table, immediately; under the plausible pretence, that he had drank too much. But, in reality, because she was afraid, that the effects of the poison would be discovered, by the attendants, if he continued to sit at table. In a little time, *Claudius* felt the dire effects of that rank poison; which, that night, deprived him of his speech and hearing; and, the next day, put an end to his life, in his 64th year; after he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days.<sup>n</sup>

*Agrippina*, being sensible that she could not have accomplished so detestable a murder, upon the emperor, if *Narcissus* had been present; she had persuaded him to go into the country, out of a pretended concern for his health. And there she got him, also, murdered, not long after his master. He was one of the most powerful and richest subjects, at that time, in the *roman empire*. Foreign kings and states had courted his friendship and alliance. And, though he had not always used his interest, with his master, as he ought to have done; yet, at his death, he gave a noble proof of virtue, and greatness of mind. For, as *Claudius* had intrusted him with all his secrets; and wrote to him several letters, about the most important persons, and difficult affairs; he, just before he was put to death, burnt all his papers; lest they should be made use of, to the detriment of any person, after his decease.

<sup>n</sup> Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. § ult. & Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 1, 2. Sueton. in Claud. c. 45. Dio, p. 688.



## C H A P. VI. S E C T. II.

*An account of the accession, and part of the reign, of Nero.*

**A**GRIPPINA concealed the death of *Claudius*, 'till she had secured the *empire* for her own son.<sup>a</sup> *Nero*, who was then onely seventeen years of age, went to the camp; conducted by *Burrus*, captain of the guards. There he made an oration to the soldiers, composed by his tutor, *Seneca*; wherein he promised the same largesses, which *Claudius* had given them, upon his accession to the *empire*.<sup>b</sup> Some of them did, indeed, before that, call for *Britannicus*, the son of *Claudius*; to whom the right of succession did properly belong. But the prospect of *Nero's* generosity silenced them. And he was presently saluted *emperor*. After that, he went to the *senate*; and read, to them, another discourse; composed, likewise, by *Seneca*. Upon which, they confirmed his title to the *empire*; and were so much pleased with *his speech*, that they decreed, it should be engraven upon a column of silver; and be annually rehearsed, on the day, that the *consuls* entered upon their office. For they looked upon it, as the perfect model of a wise and equitable administration; and were willing that their superior magistrates should never forget it.

*Nero* was onely three months old, when his own father died; and he left him no more than the third part of his estate. But *Nero* did not possess even that. For *Caligula*, his co-heir, seized upon the whole. And his mother, *Agrippina*, being afterwards banished, his aunt *Lepida* took him, and educated him, as well as her low circumstances would admit; a barber and a dancing-master being his onely tutors, 'till the death of *Caligula*.<sup>c</sup> Which gave such a wrong biasse to his mind, as he could never shake off. When *Claudius* came to the *empire*, he was restored to his father's inheritance; and had another estate given him. And then *Agrippina*, also, was recalled from her banishment. When he was about eleven years of age, he was adopted by *Claudius*; and the famous *Seneca* was appointed to be his

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<sup>a</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 68, 69. Sueton. in Claud. c. 45.  
<sup>b</sup> Dio, l. 61. p. 690, D. Sueton. in Nero. c. 8. Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 2.  
<sup>c</sup> Sueton. in Nero. c. 6.

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An. Christi 54. Nero. 1. *præceptor*. But yet he either could not, or would not, thoroughly reform his taste and manners.

Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. II. Acts xviii. 22. *Agrippina* would not suffer *Nero* to learn *philosophy*; as thinking it below the dignity of an *emperor*. And *Seneca* is said to have refrained from teaching him *eloquence*; that he might keep him the longer in admiration of himself.<sup>d</sup> But both he, and the *empire* in general, found reason to lament, that he had taken no more pains, to cultivate the mind, and soften the manners, of his pupil. Soon after his accession, *Nero* gave to *Claudius* a most magnificent funeral; he himself speaking the funeral oration. After which, he had him *deified*, or inrolled among *the gods*. At first, *Agrippina* chiefly ruled; though *Nero* had the title. For she gave audience to ambassadors, wrote letters to foreign princes and states, and managed the affairs of the distant kingdoms and provinces; as well as of the city *Rome*, and the adjacent countries. The young *emperor* very much procured the good will of the people, by declaring that he would form himself, upon the model of *Augustus*. And he actually behaved, in many instances, in a generous, benevolent, and wise, manner; abolishing, or moderateing, such taxes, as were grievous to the people; bestowing considerable donations upon them; and liberally maintaining such of the *senators*, as were nobly descended, but fallen into decay. One day, when he was to sign a dead warrant for the execution of a malefactor, he passionately wished, "that he had never learnt to read, or write; rather than set his hand to so ungrateful an order." When the *senate* came, in a body, to thank him, for his excellent administration; he bid them "stay 'till he had deserved thanks." He knew all the persons in *Rome*, who were of any distinction; and could salute them readily and familiarly, by their own proper names. His two ministers of great power, were *Seneca*, and *Afranius Burrus*. The former was the famous *court philosopher*; whose eloquence and politeness are too well known, to need a particular description. And *Burrus* was distinguished, by the severity of his manners, and his skill in military affairs. But *Pallas*, the freedman of *Claudius*, was *Agrippina's* favorite. He had advised *Claudius* to marry *Agrippina*, and to adopt *Nero*. And he had a very great and unhappy influence over *Agrippina*; who generally consulted him, and was directed by him. And *Seneca* and *Burrus* had enough to do, to check the sallies of *Nero*; and to restrain the irregular motions of that lady; and of her favorite, *Pallas*.

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<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. c. 52.



It will now be proper to say something of the *jewish affairs*, during the former part of the reign of *Nero*. He gave *Armenia minor*,<sup>54.</sup> to *Aristobulus*, son to *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*. And he added, to the dominions of the younger *Agrippa*, four Cities, with their territories; namely, *Taricheas*, and *Tiberias*, in *Galilee*; and *Abila* and *Julias*, in *Peræa*; together with fourteen villages in the neighbourhood of *Peræa*. And he, likewise, added somewhat to the dominions of *Felix*.<sup>e</sup> At that time, *Judæa* abounded with robbers. *Felix* did all, he could, to root them out; daily apprehending some of them, and putting them to death. Among the rest, there was one *Eleazer*, the son of *Dineus*; who was at the head of a great band of robbers; and who had, for twenty years, ravaged the country. *Felix* promised him a safe conduct, if he would come out of his lurking place, and speak with him. Upon which, *Eleazer* relying, came to him. But *Felix*, thinking himself under no obligation to keep faith with so great a villain, clapt him up in chains, and sent him to *Rome*. And, having apprehended many of his followers; he sent them also away, to the emperor, along with him. Great were the numbers of the robbers, whom he crucified; and cut off, by other ways; 'till, at last, he cleared the country of them. But, when the country was cleared of them, there soon sprang up another sort of *ruffians*; who were called *sicarii*, from the daggers, or small crooked swords, which they hid under their coats. For the latin word, *sica*, signifies a *short sword*, or *small dagger*. It was about as big as the *Persian cymitar*. The romans called it *sica*. And the men, that made use of that weapon, they called *sicarii*. Those *sicarii* came up, to *Jerusalem*, under a pretence of worshiping GOD, at the temple. But they were so audacious, as to slay men, in the day-time, in the middle of the city. And, at the *festivals*, more especially, when multitudes came thither, from all parts, they would mix with the croud; and, with their private daggers, stab their enemies. And then, to conceal their wickedness, they would seem as full of indignation, against the authors of such crimes, as any of the people. By which means, they continued, for some time, unsuspected. These were the persons, who stabbed *Jonathan*, the *high-priest*. *Jonathan* had been a friend to *Felix*. And had petitioned *Claudius Cæsar* to make him *procurator* of *Judæa*. But, when *Felix*, by his male-administration, had, in many things, disgusted the jews; *Jonathan* was afraid, lest the crimes of

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Felix

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. de Bell. Jud. 1. 2. c. 13. § 2, &c. & Antiq. 1. 20. c. 8. §. 4, &c.



An. Christi 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. II. Acts xviii. 22. *Felix* might be, in some measure, imputed to him. Wherefore, he would often and freely admonish him to behave better. *Felix* would not bear with such freedom of reproof. And, therefore, resolved to take off the *high-priest*. Which he effected, by means of *Dora*, a native of *Jerusalem*. *Dora* had been *Jonathan's* friend. But, upon the prospect of being rewarded, with a great sum of money, he hired a company of the *sicarii*, to destroy *Jonathan*. Which they did, by mingling with his servants and attendants. And so stabbed him, privately and unexpectedly. When the *sicarii* had escaped, without being punished, for so notorious a murder, they became more bold and insolent. And slew great numbers, every festival; some, out of private revenge; but others, as hired to it, by money. And those slaughters they committed, not onely in the city, but in the temple itself; making no scruple of violating that holy place; which the *jews* did unjustly accuse St. PAUL of polluting. And, by such means, they provoked GOD, to bring, upon the temple, city, and nation, the destruction, which he had threatened, because of their sin and impenitence. But, besides the robbers, and the *sicarii*, there was, also, another sort of persons appeared; who no less threatened the destruction of the city *Jerusalem*. Those were impostors and deceivers; who, under a pretence of having divine revelations, and the power of working miracles, attempted to make changes, and revolutions, in the state. By which, they deceived great numbers; drawing them out, into the wilderness, as if GOD would, there, show them, the manifest tokens of their approaching liberty. By them, were fulfilled OUR SAVIOR's prophecies, concerning the false Christs and false prophets, who would appear, before the destruction of *Jerusalem* and of the *jewish nation*. *Felix* was afraid, lest they should occasion an insurrection. And, therefore, he sent out several soldiers, against them, both horse and foot; who slew a great number of them.

About that time, there came a person, out of *Ægypt*, to *Jerusalem*, who pretended to be a prophet; and he brought a yet heavier disaster upon the *jews*. For he went out, from *Jerusalem*, attended by four thousand men,<sup>f</sup> who were many of them of the number of the *sicarii*.<sup>g</sup> And, going into the country; and having raised his reputation,

<sup>f</sup> See some curious observations, upon this piece of history, which Dr. Ward, of Gresham College, communicated to Dr. Lardner; and which he has inserted, in his *Credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 551, 552. second edition; p. 947, &c. third edition.

<sup>g</sup> Acts xxi. 38. his followers are said to have been τὸς τετρακισχίλις ἀνδρας τῶν σικαρίων.



reputation, among the people; he gathered together a great multitude; which amounted, at last, to thirty thousand men. It is probable, that, before he left the city, he had so concerted matters with some friends, whom he left behind him, as to entertain hopes, that, upon his return, his design would be favored, by great numbers of the jews, in Jerusalem; and, that he should have no opposition from any, but the romans. Haveing gathered a sufficient number, he brought them round, out of the wilderness, up to the mount of Olives. From whence, he intended to force his way, into Jerusalem. For, when he came thither, he promised his deluded followers, "they should see the walls of the city fall down, at his command." However; he hoped, by surprize, to have attacked, and beat, the roman guards. And then, he designed to bring the people into subjection, and govern them, by the help of his armed associates. Upon his arriveal, at the mount of Olives, Felix came suddenly out, upon him, with a large body of the roman soldiers, both horse and foot. And the citizens, in general, prepared, also, to defend themselves against him. So speedy and general an opposition surprized him. So that he dared not to venture an ingagement; but presently fled, with a body of his most trusty friends; as is usual in such cases. With those, in particular, the roman soldiers were ordered to ingage; neglecting the rest, who were onely a confused multitude, and immediately made off, as they could, by different ways. When, therefore, Josephus saith, *the Ægyptian fled, accompanied by a few onely*<sup>h</sup>; he is to be understood, of that body; which at first fled away, with the impostor; and were but a few, with respect to the whole thirty thousand. When he saith, that *most of them, who were with him, were either slain, or taken prisoners*; (which, in his jewish antiquities, are said to be four hundred killed, and two hundred taken alive;<sup>i</sup>) he means the greatest part of those few, who fled with him. Nor need it be thought strange, that the number of the slain, and the prisoners, is no greater; since it is likely, that Josephus speaks onely of that body of men, which fled with the impostor. This, therefore, is the sum of the case. Four thousand joined him, at first, at Jerusalem. But he went out, into the country. And, at length, his followers increased to thirty thousand. So St. LUKE's account,

<sup>psal.</sup> [that is, four thousand of the sicarii.] Which seems to be confirmed, from the connection, in Josephus; who mentions the sicarii, as numerous, immediately before.

<sup>h</sup> De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. §. 5.

<sup>i</sup> Antiq. lib. 20. c. 8. § 6.

An. Christi  
54.  
Nero. 1.  
Book III.  
Ch. VI.  
Sect. II.  
Acts xviii.  
22.



An. Christi account, *Acts* xxi. 38. is reconciled with that of *Josephus*. And  
 Nero. 1. <sup>54</sup> such as were slain, or taken prisoners, might be the *greatest part of*  
 Book III. *those, that fled, with the Ægyptian*, when *Felix* and his sol-  
 Ch. VII. diers attacked him. So the account, given by *Josephus*, in *the wars of*  
 Sect. I. *the jews*, is reconciled with what he has said, in *the antiquities*. And  
*Acts* xviii. all the accounts agree, that the *Ægyptian* himself escaped; though  
 23, &c. his attempt came to nothing.

Notwithstanding that defeat of the *Ægyptian* and his followers, the *impostors* and the *robbers* gathered together, again; and incited many to revolt, and to recover *their liberty*; threatening death to such, as would continue to obey the *romans*: saying, "That they, who were willing to continue in *slavery*, ought to be forced to assert *their liberty*." These being dispersed, throughout the country, they plundered the houses of the great men. And both killed such as opposed them, and burned the villages. So that *all Judæa* was filled with the effects of their madnesse; and they helped to bring on the *war* apace,

## C H A P. VII.

St. PAUL's third apostolic journey, *through Asia minor, Macedonia, Greece, &c.* *Acts* xviii. 23, — xxi. 17.

## S E C T. I.

St. PAUL *visiteth the churches, in Galatia and Phrygia. Apollos, at Ephesus; who, being instructed in the christian doctrine, goeth to Corinth.* *Acts* xviii. 23, *to the end of that chapter,*

WHEN St. PAUL was at liberty, he took the *church of Antioch*, in *Syria*, in his way; before he set out, upon any of his *apostolic journies*. And after he had, now, made some stay, in *that city*, he set out upon his *third apostolic journey*; and went, through *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, καθέξῃς from church to church, in that order, in which he had founded them. [Vid. *Mill. prolegom.* 538.] confirming such, as had been converted, in those places, in his *former journey*. For he seemeth to have been alone; and not to have had time to attempt new conversions. Since the APOSTLE left *Ephesus*, there was come thither, one *Apollos*, a *jew*, a native of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*; where the *jews* were numerous. He was a learned, eloquent



eloquent man; and had made a very great progresse in studying the scriptures of the old testament. But he knew no more of the christian religion, than *John the baptist* had taught; who preached repentence, and baptized, onely as præparatory to the comeing of the messiah's kingdom. Though he, withall, intimated, that "the kingdom of the messiah was at hand; and that (though he himself baptized onely with water) the messiah would baptize with the holy spirit, attended with a glory, like a flame of fire." Apollos neither knew of the messiah's being come, nor who the person was; nor what progresse the christian religion had since made. However: being inflamed with a zeale to do good, he went to the synagogue; and taught, accurately, and with fortitude, what he knew, concerning the messiah, and his kingdom. When *Aquila* and *Priscilla* heard him, and observed his fervency and eloquence; they were convinced of his good disposition of mind; and very wisely judged that he might be of great service. They, therefore, took him, and instructed him, more fully, in the christian religion; that is, concerning the nature of the doctrine, and the grand facts, which had happened, since the imprisonment and death of *John the baptist*. But Apollos, soon after, left Ephesus. For, it doeth not appear that he ever preached, in the synagogue there, after he had been more fully instructed in the knowlege of christianity. When he expressed his inclination to go into Achaia, in which province stood the city of Corinth; the christians of Ephesus forwarded his good intention. And, particularly, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*; giving him letters of recommendation, to the christians, of their acquaintance, in Achaia; that he might meet with a ready and kind reception. When he came thither, he was of great service; confirming such as had already imbraced christianity. For he, with great earnestnesse, confuted the unbelieving jews; and that publicly: showing, from the prophecies of the old testament, that JESUS was evidently the messiah; as all the prædictions, concerning the messiah, centered in him, and in him alone.—It is to his laboring to promote christianity, at Corinth, that St. PAUL alludes, when he saith: [1 Cor. iii. 6.] "I have planted, and Apollos watered; but the increase is from GOD." And he it was, whom the Corinthians did, after this, make the head of one of their parties, or factions; when they were divided, by the delusions of a judaizeing, false apostle. [1 Cor. i. 12.]

An. Christi  
54.  
Nero. 1.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect I.  
Acts xviii.  
24, ad fin.



## C H A P. VII. S E C T. II.

*The APOSTLE returneth to Ephesus; imparteth the holy spirit to twelve of John the baptist's disciples. Acts xix. 1, — 7.*

An. Christi  
54.  
Nero. 1.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. II.  
Acts xix.  
1, &c.

**A** POLLOS still remained at *Corinth*. And, when the APOSTLE had finished his journey through the upper parts of *Asia minor*,<sup>a</sup> (particularly *Galatia* and *Phrygia*,<sup>b</sup>) he, according to his promise, returned to *Ephesus*. There, he found twelve disciples; who had been converted, or at least come to *Ephesus*, since he had left that city. And, as it was his usual custom to impart the *holy spirit*, to all the *adult converts*, where-ever he came, if they had not already received that *divine gift*; — he asked those twelve, “Whether they had received the *holy spirit*, since they believed?” To which, they answered; “We have not so much as heard that the *holy spirit* is poured out; or that any person hath been favored with that extraordinary gift;<sup>c</sup> which the *prophets* foretold, and *John the baptist* frequently intimated, would be granted unto numbers.” “No!” (saith the APOSTLE; not without wonder and surprize,) What, have “you

Ver. 1.<sup>a</sup> In opposition to which, *Herodotus* speaks of τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κατω the lower parts of *Asia*. And τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας the upper *Asia*. See p. 29. & 41. & 225. of *Gale's* edition of *Herodotus* τῆς Ἀλυσὸς ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίας — all *Asia* above the river *Halys*. p. 56. the lower and upper *Asia*, p. 73. ad finem.

<sup>b</sup> Acts xviii. 23. Ver. 2.<sup>c</sup> *Ainsworth* [on Exod. xxviii. 30.] hath rightly observed, “that, by the *holy ghost*, is here meant the gifts of the spirit, in prophecie, tongues, &c. as it followeth, ver. 6. The *holy ghost* came on them, and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. Which gifts, being before ceased, were restored by the gospel. An evident proof that CHRIST was come. Joel ii. 28, &c. Acts ii. 4; 17, 18.”

According to our english translation, these twelve disciples of *John the baptist* are represented, as saying, *We have not so much as heard whether there be any holy ghost*. If, by this, he meant, that they had never heard of the holy spirit, it appears to be incredible. If hereby we are to understand, that they had not yet heard of the effusion of the holy spirit; of which *John the baptist* had given intimations; that, indeed seems to be the true sense; but very ill expressed. The *cambridge* MS. reads λαμβάνει τὴν, that is, “We have not so much as heard, that any persons do receive the *holy spirit*.” That is a just interpretation. But the authority for that reading is not sufficient. In our english version, John vii. 39. the same sort of phrase is more justly translated, [*The holy ghost was not yet given.*] If our translators had kept to that manner of rendering, they would have made this passage as intelligible and clear, [*We have not so much as heard whether the holy ghost be yet given.*]



“ you not so much as heard of the *effusion* of the *holy spirit*? Pray, An. Christi  
 “ into what then were ye *baptized*?” They replied: “ We have <sup>54.</sup> Nero. 1.  
 “ been baptized onely into *John’s baptism*; in hopes that the *messiah* <sup>Book III.</sup>  
 “ would shortly appear.” Then PAUL said: “ *John* did, indeed, <sup>Ch. VII.</sup>  
 “ prapare the way for the coming of the *messiah*, by *baptizeing* with <sup>Señ. II.</sup>  
 “ the *baptism of repentance*, for the remission of sins. But he warn- <sup>Acts xix.</sup>  
 “ ed the people of the *jews* not to take him for the *messiah*, nor to <sup>3. &c.</sup>  
 “ rest in what he had done; but to look farther; and to believe on  
 “ him, who was then just ready to appear; *that is*, on JESUS of  
 “ *Nazareth*, who was actually the promised and long-expected *mes-*  
 “ *siab*.” Then they, haveing heard him, were baptized in the name  
 of the lord *Jesus*.<sup>d</sup> And, when PAUL had laid his hands upon  
 them, the holy spirit came upon them; as planely appeared by the  
 effects. For, presently, they spoke *languages*, which they had never  
 understood before; and *prophefied*; that is, prædicted some future,  
 contingent events; or rather uttered some truths, by a divine im-  
 pulse, that were for edification, or exhortation, or comfort.  
 “ It is a wonder that any of *John the baptist’s* disciples could have  
 “ lived so long, without hearing of JESUS his haveing imparted the  
 “ holy spirit unto his disciples; when *christianity* had spread so far  
 “ and wide, and made such a noise in the world.” Possibly, these  
 twelve might have left *Judæa*, before the imprisonment of *John the*  
*baptist*;

Ver. 4, 5. <sup>d</sup> The fifth verse has been generally understood, as containing the words  
 of St. *Luke*, the sacred historian. *Marnixius*, a person of distinction, in *Holland*,  
 both for his learning and quality, considered verse the fifth, as a continuation of the  
 words of St. *Paul*. In which, he has been followed, by *Drusius*, *Beza*, and others,  
 who contend that *δὲ*, ver. 5. is a reddition to *μὲν*, ver. 4. *Grotius*, on the other  
 hand, without hæsitiation, fais, “ That *δὲ* and *μὲν* have no connection; though ma-  
 “ ny have thought they have. And that verse the fifth contains the words of St.  
 “ *Luke*; as the vulgate, the syriac, the arabic, and all the antients, before *Marnix-*  
 “ *ius*, understood them.” To support this, *Grotius* alleges, “ that *μὲν* is a mere  
 “ expletive, here; as it is *Acts* iii. 21.” But, as to that, I would observe, that  
*Acts* iii. 21. no *δὲ* follows, to be a redditive to *μὲν*. And, as far as I know, *δὲ* ne-  
 ver follows *μὲν*, so soon, without being a redditive to it. Though some have thought  
*Acts* iii. 22, 23. to be such an instance.—It would be a much better argument, in  
 favor of *Grotius* his opinion, to allege, that *μὲν*, in the begining of verse the 4th, is  
 not found in the *Alexandrian*, nor in the *Cambridge*, mss. nor in very many other  
 copies. [See *Dr. Mill*.] I have left the ambiguity, in the text; because I am not  
 positive which is the true interpretation. However; I would observe, that, in all  
 the new testament, there is not any other clear instance, or proof, of the *re-baptizeing*  
 of such as had been the *disciples* of *John*. On the other hand; it doeth not appear,  
 that OUR LORD himself, or any of the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*, were *bap-*  
*tized*, with *water*, by any other, than by the *baptism* of *John*. And, when they,  
 who had followed *John*, became the *disciples* of JESUS; we read nothing of their  
 being *re-baptized*, by JESUS, or by his *disciples*.



An. Christi *baptist*; and have lived, ever since, in some obscure village, in *Asia*  
 Nero. 1. <sup>54.</sup> *minor*; (as *Apollos* had done at *Alexandria*.) For, had they con-  
 Book III. tinued in *Judæa*; or lived, in any considerable town, in the neigh-  
 Ch. VII. boring countries; they must have heard of the *effusion* of the *holy spi-*  
 Sect. II. *rit*, and of the *miraculous gifts*, which were then so common among  
 Acts xix. the *christians*. But it seemeth much more probable to me, that these  
 6, &c. twelve had not been the immediate disciples of *John*; but had been  
 converted, by the eloquent *Apollos*, before he was more fully instruct-  
 ed by *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. For, it doeth not appear that *Apollos*  
 ever preached, in the synagogue, at *Ephesus*; after he had received  
 those farther instructions. But he went away presently, to *Corinth*;  
 where he readily communicated the knowlege, which he had re-  
 ceived.—It may farther be inquired, “Whether these twelve had  
 “been *jews*, or *devout gentiles*?” On the one hand, it would make  
 one suspect that they were *uncircumcised gentiles*, to consider, that  
 St. PAUL was the APOSTLE of the *gentiles*; and gloried in his being  
 so: [Rom. xi. 13.] that he was not onely acknowledged as such, by  
 JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, the three most renowned APOSTLES  
 of the *circumcision*; but that (when they gave him the right hand of  
 fellowship) they agreed that he and BARNABAS should go to the *gen-*  
*tiles*, as they did among the *jews*. [Gal. ii. 9.] And St. PAUL kept  
 so closely to this agreement, that we have hardly an instance of his  
 conferring the *holy spirit* on any *jewish converts*; unlesse we reckon  
 this such an instance. Which one would not readily do; as it is a  
 dubious case. On the other hand; it may be alleged, that *John the*  
*baptist*’s ministry was among the *jews*: that, notwithstanding all,  
 which he and JESUS had said, or done, the APOSTLES scrupled the  
 reception of *uncircumcised gentiles*, about eight years after OUR LORD’S  
 ascension: and that it is, therefore, very unlikely that the disciples  
 of *John the baptist*, who had heard nothing of the *effusion* of the  
*spirit*, should have heard of the conversion of *uncircumcised gentiles*;  
 much lesse would they have attempted to convert such. These are  
 the difficulties, which attend both suppositions. But, upon com-  
 pareing them, I confesse I am rather inclined to the latter. For  
*Timothy* was a *jew*; and yet St. PAUL imparted unto him the *holy*  
*spirit*. And I cannot see why St. PAUL might not impart the *holy*  
*spirit* unto other *jewish converts*; as well as preach among the *jews*,  
 and convert numbers of them to *christianity*. And I think it much  
 more probable, that the disciples of *John the baptist* should be *jews*,  
 than that they should be *uncircumcised gentiles*. For it doeth not ap-  
 pear, with certainty, that any *uncircumcised gentiles* became the dis-  
 ciples



principles of *John the baptist*. And, supposing these twelve were *jewish converts*: as they were in a country so distant from *Judæa*, where they had little or no prospect of meeting with any of the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*; is it not most likely, that the *divine benevolence* and *wisdom* would choose that the APOSTLE of the *gentiles* should impart to them the *gift of the holy spirit*; rather than they should remain without that attestation, which was so plentifully conferred on *gentile converts*?

An. Christi  
55.  
Nero. 1.

Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. III.  
Acts xix.  
8, &c.

C H A P. VII. S E C T. III.

*St. PAUL taught, in the synagogue, at Ephesus, 'till the unbelieving jews opposed him. He then taught in the school of Tyrannus. He fought with wild beasts; worked great and extraordinary miracles: and was highly magnified, by what happened to some of the exorcist jews. Acts xix. 8,—20.*

IT hath been observed, above, that, when the APOSTLE of the *gentiles* was, the first time, at *Ephesus*, he made no long stay; because he hastened to be at *Jerusalem*, at the approaching feast. But now, he is willing to tarry, as long as they could, in reason, desire. And, accordingly, for three months, he frequented the synagogue of the *jews*; speaking boldly, and with fortitude, concerning the *christian doctrine*; explaining the nature of it; and endeavoring to convince both the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*, of the truth and evidence of it. And, when several of the leading men among the *jews* were hardened, beyond all conviction; and not only refused to believe, themselves; but even cast wicked and injurious reflections upon the *christian religion*, before the multitude; and did all they could, to deter others from believing; the APOSTLE left the *synagogue*. And, taking along with him the *converts*, whom he had made, he went, and taught daily, in the school of one *Tyrannus*, or *Turnus*; whose school was, perhaps, what the *jews* called *Beth-midrash*, or a divinity-school; in which they used to handle intricate questions, and difficult doctrines. There St. PAUL kept his assembly, for two years together. And, according to a different



An. Christi<sup>56.</sup> reading, in two antient mss.<sup>a</sup> he taught five hours a-day; *that is*,  
 Nero. 2. from eleven o'clock in the morning, to four in the afternoon. By  
 Book III. his indefatigable diligence, for so long a time, *christianity* spread very  
 Ch. VII. much. For all the inhabitants of the *proconsular Asia*, whether *jews*  
 Sect. III. or *gentiles*, had thereby an opportunity to learn the *true christian*  
 Acts xix. *doctrine*; and to see it confirmed by mighty and convinceing attesta-  
 9, &c. tions. Now, most probably, *Philemon* and *Epaphras* were convert-  
 ed to *christianity*; by coming to *Ephesus*; or rather, by receiveing  
 the gospel, from some, who had heard the APOSTLE, at *Ephesus*.<sup>b</sup>  
 And, perhaps, they were greatly instrumental in makeing converts, at  
*Colosse*,<sup>c</sup> *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*. For St. PAUL, in the *epistle*,  
 which he wrote to the *Colossians*, long after this, declareth, that  
 the body of the *christian churches*, in two of those cities, *had not*  
*then seen his face in the flesh*:<sup>d</sup> And, that *he had onely heard of their*  
*faith in CHRIST JESUS*; and of their love to the *christians*.<sup>e</sup> And,  
 very probably, the *christians* at *Hierapolis* had not then seen him  
 neither.

St PAUL saith, of himself, [1 Cor. xv. 32.] that, “after the  
 “manner of men, he had fought with wild beasts, at *Ep'esus*.”  
 That hath, indeed, been frequently interpreted of the riot, made  
 there, by *Demetrius*; in which *Caius* and *Aristarchus*, two of the  
 APOSTLE's companions, were hurried into the theatre; and St.  
 PAUL himself would have ventured in, after them; had it not been  
 for the *masters of the theatre*, who were so much his friends, as to  
 advise him to the contrary. But, that the *first epistle* to the *Co-*  
*rinthians* was writen, before that riot happened, appears planely,  
 from 1 Cor. xvi. 8. For there the APOSTLE intimateth his design  
 “to tarry at *Ephesus*, for some time longer.” Whereas; after the  
 tumult, raised by *Demetrius*, he had no thoughts of staying longer;  
 but hastened away, with all speed. What, therefore, he saith, of  
 his *fighting with wild beasts*, [1 Cor. xv. 32.] must refer to some-  
 thing else. Another, and a much more probable, interpretation of  
 that text, is, “that the APOSTLE thereby refered to the opposition,  
 “which he had already met with, from the *jews*, at *Ephesus*; be-  
 “fore he left the synagogue: and that he calls them *wild beasts*, in  
 “the same sense, that he himself calleth *Nero*, or his *præfekt*, a  
 “*lion*: and that OUR LORD called *Herod Antipas*, a *fox*.” But the  
 following

Ver. 9. <sup>a</sup> See Beza and Dr. Mill.

Ver. 10. <sup>b</sup> See the history præfix-

ed to the paraphrase and notes on the epistle to *Philemon*, 2d. edition, p. 338.

<sup>c</sup> Col. i. 7, 8. and iv. 12, 13. *Philem.* ver. 5, 6.

<sup>d</sup> Col. ii. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Col. i. 4.



following reasons induce me to think, that St. PAUL actually fought with wild beasts, in the theatre, at *Ephesus*. The *Asiarchæ*, who were not onely the magistrates of *Asia propria*, but also the masters of the theatre, seem to have been well-acquainted with St. PAUL, in the riot, which *Demetrius* afterwards excited; and (like true friends) persuaded him not to venture himself into the theatre; as remembering, very likely, to what dangers he had already been exposed, in that place. Again, he saith, 2 Cor. i. 8, 9, 10. "For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of the calamity, which befel us, in *Asia propria*: that we were pressed, most excedingly, above our strength; so that we despaired even of life. But we had the sentence of death, in our-selves; and had been taught, not to trust in our-selves, but in GOD, who is able to raise the dead. Who delivered us from such a remarkable [or, *so great*] a death; and doeth still deliver." In which expressions, he might, possibly, allude to his fighting with the wild beasts. For, from a more remarkable death, he could not easily be delivered. But the argument of the greatest weight, is, his using that phrase, [*after the manner of men*;] that is, according to the barbarous custom of the men of that age; which some of the greatest and best critics have shown to be the proper meaning of that phrase.<sup>s</sup> To this conflict, he himself doeth, perhaps, allude, [2 Cor. xi. 23.] in saying, "that he had been in deaths, (or in danger of death,) frequently." The silence of St. LUKE, in the *Acts of the APOSTLES*, seems, at the first view, to be an objection against this interpretation. But, it is evident, that his intended brevity led him to passe over, in silence, many of the remarkable actions and sufferings, which the APOSTLE himself hath either mentioned, or glanced at, in his *epistles*.

Being thrown to the wild beasts, and fighting with them, were different things. The manner of fighting with wild beasts was thus: "The person, condemned to that dangerous combate, was allowed armour to defend himself against the lion, bear, leopard, wolf, or tyger, that was let loose upon him. And the combate was, in the theatre, as a public spectacle to the people, after they had been entertained with several other diversions. [And, to their coming last upon the stage, there is a fine allusion, 1 Cor. iv. 9.] If they were killed in the fight, there was an end of them. But, if they vanquished the wild beast, and came off victorious; the judge

<sup>f</sup> Τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. He puts the articles down, to point out some particular calamity, in the *Asia*, properly so called.

<sup>g</sup> See Dr *Lightfoot's* works, vol. 1. p. 298. and Dr. *Whitby*, on 1 Cor. xv. 32.

An. Christi  
56.  
Nero. 2.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. III.  
Acts xix.  
10.



An. Christi " judge of the games commonly granted the prisoners their pardon."

<sup>57.</sup>  
Nero. 3. If the APOSTLE thus fought ; that GOD, who delivered *Daniel*, from  
Book III. the hungry lions ; and who had imployed the APOSTLE, in so vast  
Ch. VII. and beneficent an undertakeing, took care to deliver him from so great  
Sect. III. and dreadful a death.

Acts xix. St. PAUL, dureing his abode at *Ephesus*, did not onely preach the  
II, &c. christian doctrine, most faithfully and diligently ; but rouzed the peo-  
ple to attention ; and confirmed his mission and doctrine, by many  
great and uncommon miracles. For, besides instantaneously and  
perfectly cureing many diseased persons, and such as were possessed,  
or *lunatic* ; the very manner of his working some of the miracles,  
was extraordinary and remarkable. For he never saw several of the  
persons, whom he miraculously cured ; but onely sent handkerchiefs  
and aprons, <sup>h</sup> which he himself had touched. And, upon applying  
them to the bodies of the sick persons, their disorders were removed  
intirely, and immediately.

Yet, the more to augment the APOSTLE's fame, and exalt the  
credit of *christianity*, there happened the following remarkable oc-  
currence. Certain *strolling jews*, who pretended to *exorciseing*, and  
*expelling dæmons*, observing that St. PAUL, by *invokeing the name of*  
JESUS, did, successfully, what they onely pretended to ; they resolved  
to do so too. And, accordingly, they adjured the evil spirit, [or *the*  
*disorder*, which was ascribed to an evil spirit,] to depart from a *luna-*  
*tic* person, in the name of that JESUS, whom PAUL preached. Par-  
ticularly, seven sons of one *Sceva*, a *jew*, who was a priest of the  
first of the twenty-four courses, tried this project. To whom, the  
*lunatic person* replied, in the name of that *spirit*, that was thought  
to possesse him ; " JESUS and PAUL I know very well, and greatly  
" revere them. But pray, who are you ? Or whence have you your  
" authority ; that I should, in the least, regard you, or your impo-  
" tent attempts ?" And, haveing said thus, he leaped upon them ;  
and, in the struggle, overcame and wounded them. Nay ; he tore  
off their cloathes ; and handled them in so rough and terrible a man-  
ner, that they were glad to get out of the house, and escape with  
their lives. The fame of so remarkable an occurrence, spread swiftly,  
ly,

Ver. 12. <sup>h</sup> Σιδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια ; that is, *sudaria* and *semicinθia*. This is another  
instance of St. LUKE's latinizeing. For these words were, originally, *latin* words ;  
though *Drusius* saith, that the former of them was used, both by the *hebrews* and *sy-*  
*rians* ; who thereby understood a *veil*, wherewith the women covered their heads. Very  
probably, they took the word from the *romans*, who resided among them. And their  
women might cover their heads with a large handkerchief. The word is used, also,  
for a *napkin*, John xi. 44. and xx. 7.



ly, through all that large city of *Ephesus*; both among *jews* and *gentiles*. And it struck a great and unusual awe upon all that heard of it. And not onely put a stop to such *impostors* abuseing the sacred and venerable name of *JESUS*, but made it to be highly magnified and revered.

An. Christi  
57.  
Nero. 3.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. III.  
Acts xix.  
17, &c.

*Ephesus* was a city, where *exorcisms* and *incantations* had been very much practised. And the *gentiles*, there, imagined that *Diana* presided over their incantations. For, by *Diana*, was meant *the moon*. But, upon the disaster, which befel these *exorcists*, many of them, who had lately imbraced the *christian religion*, came to the *APOSTLE*; acknowledgeing that they also had formerly been guilty of pretensions to *sorcery* and *exorcisms*, and such like foolish and wicked practices; and confessed, that they now looked upon such things as highly criminal. Nay; several of them, even brought along with them their books; which contained [*Ἐφέσια Γράμματα*] *the mysteries and institutions of that pretended art*: such as, the methods of incantation; the words to be made use of; and the proper seasons and places for makeing use of them. And they threw those books into the fire, and burned them, publicly, and in the face of the whole city. And the value of them was computed, and found to be fifty-thousand pieces of silver. By a *piece of silver*, is meant a *shekel*.<sup>k</sup> Dr. *Arbutnot* sais, that a *shekel* was equal to two shillings, three pence, and three eighths of a penny, of our money. According to that valuation, fifty thousand *shekels* would amount to five thousand, seven hundred, and three pounds, two shillings, and six pence, of our *English* money. And yet, though their books were valued at that large sum, they now chearfully burned them. So mighty was the evidence of the *christian religion*; and so great and amazeing it's effects! As appeared, particularly, in their great virtue, and disinterested piety. For, they would not sell those books to others; because *the art* was in itself unlawful, and ought not to have been practised by any one. And they, being inlightened with the knowlege of the *gospel*, and animated with the prospect of a better and more indureing substance, made no account of that great sum of money; in comparison of an honorable, and faithful, discharge of their duty.

## CHAP.

Ver. 18. <sup>i</sup> Vid. Plut. Sympof. lib. 7. qu. 5. p. 706. D. edit. Franc. 1620.

Ver. 19. <sup>k</sup> By a *piece of silver*, Dr. *Doddridge* would here understand an *attic drachm*; because it seems to have been more frequently used among the *greeks*, than any coin equal to the *jewish shekel*. But, by ἀργύριον, is meant *the jewish shekel*, Matt. xxvii. 15. and xxvii. 3; 5, 6; 9. And why not here? For St. *Luke* has, in other places, used the *jewish* computation and phraseology. [See *Grotius* in loc.]



## C H A P. VII. S E C T. IV.

*St. PAUL thought to have gone to Jerusalem, and afterwards to Rome; but found it improper, as yet, to leave Ephesus. In the mean time, messengers came from the church of Corinth: which occasioned his writeing the first epistle to the Corinthians. The subject of that epistle. Acts xix. 21, 22.*

An. Christi 57.  
Nero. 3.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xix. 21.

**H**AVEING stayed so long at *Ephesus*, and labored with so much successe; the APOSTLE now purposed, in his own mind, to leave *Asia*; and to take *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, in his way to *Jerusalem*.<sup>a</sup> For, (said he) after I have been at *Jerusalem*, I must also see *Rome*; that seat of empire, and mistresse of the world!<sup>b</sup>

[“ From hence, it appears, that he knew of the death of *Claudius Cæsar*; (the news of which would soon run through the *roman empire* :)—that the *edict*, for banishing the *jews*, from *Rome*, died with him; and that the *christians* were either returned, or might return, to that imperial city.” Nor can we have a more proper place to observe, that “ he always went to those cities, where he hoped to make the most converts, and to do the greatest good: and that he did not lurk about, in villages and obscure places; or among a stupid people, who could not examine into his pretensions; but, like one, who knew the goodnesse of the *doctrine*, which he delivered; and the evidence, which attended it; and that it would bear the severest examination; he appeared in the most populous cities, and among the most acute people: (And such, all will acknowlege, were *Greece* and *Rome*.) For, he knew that he had truth and evidence on his side; which always recommend themselves to the impartial inquirers.”] But, notwithstanding his design; he found it improper, as yet, to leave *Ephesus*, and to go to the places, which he had intended to visit. For there were hopes of doing much more good, in that city; though there

<sup>a</sup> Ver. 21. <sup>a</sup> See 2 Cor. i. 15, 16.

<sup>b</sup> Rom. xv. 23, 24, 25.



there were many adversaries.<sup>c</sup> He, therefore, sent away two of those, who attended upon him, to go to *Macedonia*, and to *Achaia*;<sup>d</sup> to rectifie any disorders, which might have happened in those churches; and to forward the collection, for the use of the poor christians in *Judea*: according to what PETER, JAMES and JOHN, had requested of him; and which St. PAUL himself had purposed to do, before they mentioned it.<sup>e</sup> One of the messengers, sent by the APOSTLE, upon this occasion, was his beloved *Timothy*. And the other was *Erastus*, who had been chamberlain of the city of *Corinth*; <sup>f</sup> whether he afterwards returned, and seems to have continued there for his life.<sup>g</sup>

An. Christi  
Nero. 3.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xix.  
22.

Whether the APOSTLE sent for them, or they came of themselves, doeth not now appear. But many of his assistants came up to him, dureing his long stay at *Ephesus*. For instance: *Timothy* and *Erastus*, from *Corinth*; who were now sent back thither, through *Macedonia*. *Silas*, indeed, doeth not appear to have come to *Ephesus*. But, along with *Timothy*, or soon after him, there came, to the APOSTLE, from *Corinth*, *Sosthenes*,<sup>h</sup> and some of the family of *Chloe*;<sup>i</sup> as well as *Caius* and *Aristarchus*, from *Macedonia*; and *Titus*, from *Antioch* in *Syria*. And those he sent among the churches, as he thought might be of the greatest service. [2 Cor. xii. 18.]

While St. PAUL was still at *Ephesus*, and (as I suppose) *Timothy* and *Erastus* gone to *Macedonia*;<sup>k</sup> there came, from the church of *Corinth*, three messengers, to the APOSTLE; namely, *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*. [And, along with them, *Apollos*, the eloquent *Alexandrian*.] For, by their hands, that church had sent a letter to St. PAUL; wherein they desired to know his opinion, concerning several doctrines and practices.<sup>l</sup> That, which put the APOSTLE upon designing them another visit, at that time, was, very probably, the account, which he had received, from some of the family of *Chloe*, of their divisions, and unhappy contentions. And, possibly, what he saith, 1 Cor. v. 9. of "his having wrote somewhat to them before;" doeth onely refer to a letter, which he had begun to write, upon that information. But now, these three messengers comeing, and giving him a more full and particular account; and, likewise, bringing a letter, from the church, at *Corinth*, with so many queries

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and

<sup>c</sup> 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9.

<sup>e</sup> Gal. ii. 10.

be observed, that he wrote to the *Romans*, from *Corinth*, some time after this.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 20.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 17. and xvi. 10.

Ver. 22. <sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 17. and xvi. 10.

<sup>f</sup> So St. PAUL calleth him, *Rom.* xvi. 23. For it must

<sup>h</sup> 1 Cor. i. 1.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. i. 11.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Cor. xvi. 12; 17. and vii. 1.



An. Christi 57.  
Nero. 3. and *difficulties* in it; he began, and wrote another *epistle*; without sending what he had written before. Or he might intend the *epistle*, which he was then writeing.<sup>m</sup> For there is no proof that St. PAUL wrote *an epistle to the Corinthians*, prior to the two, which are still extant.

Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xix. 22. He, that carefully considereth the great disorders, into which that church had fallen, will easily conclude, that St. PAUL had taught them onely the *fundamental doctrines* of christianity; and that they had made but a small proficiency therein. They, therefore, would be the more easily seduced, by an *artful impostor*; as we find they actually were. For, since the APOSTLE had left *Corinth*; and that considerable church, which he himself had planted there; a *false APOSTLE*, by nation a *jew*; and (very probably) a *scribe*, of the sect of the *sadduces*; had crept in among them, and made a great disturbance in that church. For he was a violent and most zealous *judaizer*; and was so intent upon introducing *jewish* customs, and ritual observations, that he opposed St. PAUL, the true APOSTLE of the *gentiles*; vilified his person; and charged him with preaching *false doctrines*. And he had made such a progresse, by his wicked arts, as to raise a considerable faction against St. PAUL. What unhappily promoted *his faction*, was, a great irregularity, in one of the *christians*; who seemeth to have been a man of some weight and distinction, and who had married *his father's wife*. For he was patronized by the *false apostle*; and, consequently, strengthened and increased his party. Which is a too common case with *all parties*; but, especially, with *bigots*, who are more zealous against the *doctrines*, which they dislike, than against the open vices and immoralities of such as belong to *their own party*. To break the *faction*, and to draw them off from the *false apostle*, their new leader, is the subject of the former part of the *epistle*; that is, from *chap. i. to chap. vi.* And, from *chap. vii. to the end of the epistle*, he answereth the *queries*, and solveth the *difficulties*, proposed, in *their letter* to him; as well as others, which, he knew, nearly concerned them. But he, all along, intersperseth reflections upon his opposer, and reproofs of such as fell in with him.—It is finely conjectured, [from 1 Cor. v. 7, 8. compared with xvi. 8.] that this *first epistle to the Corinthians* was written, about the time of the *jewish passover*.—The APOSTLE sent it, by the hands of *Stephanas, Fortunatus,*

<sup>m</sup> 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. is a strong confirmation of this. See Mr. Locke's note there. And Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel-history, part ii. vol. 21. p. 51, 52; 182.



natus, and *Achaicus*. But, though he pressed *Apollos* to return, to *Corinth*, with them, he refused; as knowing too much already of the factions and contentions of the *christians* in that city. [1 Cor. xvi. 12.]

“ **A**S his *apostolic authority* had been called in question, he begineth *Written*  
 “ with asserting it: PAUL, an APOSTLE of JESUS CHRIST, &c. *from*  
 “ And he wrote, in his own name, and in the name of *Sosthenes*; to show, *Ephesus,*  
 “ perhaps, that he, who had been a ruler of the synagogue, was not of *An. Chri.*  
 “ the mind of *the false apostle*. After his usual introduction, of wishing *57.*  
 “ them all manner of blessing, from GOD and the LORD JESUS CHRIST; *Nero. 3.*  
 “ he proceeds to put them in mind, what plenty of *spiritual gifts* he had *Chap. I.*  
 “ imparted to them, in order to confirm them in the *true gospel*, which he  
 “ had preached; and reprehends them, that they had not complied with  
 “ the grand design of *christianity*, which is to promote love and unity.  
 “ Whereas; they had fallen into factions and contentions; ranking them-  
 “ selves under different leaders, as if CHRIST had not been the *only head*  
 “ of all *christians*. As for his own part, St. PAUL lets them know, that  
 “ he had never set himself up, for the head of *their church*, though he  
 “ planted it; nor did he value himself, for his learning, or eloquence, like  
 “ their *false apostle*: intimateing, that all his boasted *jewish* learning and  
 “ rhetoric, joined with all the wisdom of the *philosophers*, could not (with-  
 “ out an extraordinary *revelation*) have discovered the whole scheme of the  
 “ *christian doctrine*. Whereas; wonderful discoveries had been made, to  
 “ the world, by St. PAUL’s *great illumination*: which he had expressed, in *Chap. II.*  
 “ the most simple, unadorned style; that it might appear that his suc-  
 “ cess was not owing to human eloquence, but to the force of truth  
 “ and evidence. Not but that he had made the most glorious discoveries;  
 “ such as neither *jews* nor *gentiles* had ever heard of, before; nor could  
 “ they be supposed to receive them, (now they were reveled,) unless they  
 “ attended with a teachable and well-disposed mind. Another reason for  
 “ his not preaching, to them, more *sublime doctrines*, and in a *more exalted*  
 “ *style*, was, the ignorance and incapacity of the *Corinthians*, when he went  
 “ first among them. And, by their late divisions, it appeared that their  
 “ *christianity* was still in it’s weak, and infant, state; though the *false apostle*,  
 “ who had attacked them in that imperfect state, should not escape with-  
 “ out a proper reward. St. PAUL had laid a good foundation; but that  
 “ *impostor* came, and built a wretched superstructure upon it; which  
 “ would not indure the strict trial of the *last day*. He, therefore, charged  
 “ him to humble himself; in order to prevent so dreadful a punishment,  
 “ as he might otherwise expect. And the *Corinthians* are exhorted not to  
 “ glory in him, or in any other man. As to himself, St. PAUL saith, he  
 “ could appeal to GOD, that he was a faithful steward; however he had  
 “ been censured by the *false apostle*: and that the *last day* would discover



Written  
from  
Ephesus,  
An. Chri.  
57.  
Nero. 3.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts xix.  
22.

Chap. V.  
& VI.

his faithfulness. He was so tender of the character, even of his enemy, that he forbore naming him; and, in a figurative way, represented it, as if he himself and *Apollos* had been unduly extolled; and had set themselves up, as the heads of their factions. But (though St. PAUL showed such tenderness, in that he would not mention his name) the *false apostle* had reason to be humble, and penitent. And, notwithstanding his *boasted knowledge*, and *wonderful eloquence*, his party had also reason to be ashamed of him. The APOSTLE, in a fine manner, representeth the many sufferings, which he had undergone; and that partly upon the account of the *Corinthians*; though they now gloried, so much, in another, who had not given such proofs of his sincerity. But he lets them know, that, whatever *new instructor* they had got, he himself was their *father in the gospel*, and the founder of their *church*; whose directions they ought to have regarded: that, since his leaving them, he had sent *Timothy* to see how things went among them; and that (though some were elevated, as though he would never return in person) he would come shortly, and make trial of the grounds of their pretensions; whereby it would appear that they had no reason to glory, as they did.

Among the *professed christians* at *Corinth*, (and, as it should seem, among the followers of the *false apostle*,) there was a man, who had been guilty of what the *beathens* would have abhorred; that is, *he had married his father's wife*, even while his father was alive. And he was defended, by his own party; who rather gloried in, than condemned, him, for it. Such a shocking crime, patronized by *professed christians*, justly raised St. PAUL's indignation. Upon which, he threatened to come, with his *apostolic rod*; and punish him, and all his abettors, as they deserved. But, what he rather preferred, was, that they should meet, and pass a *church-censure* upon him. And he threatened, along with their censure, that he would, by the power of OUR LORD, deliver the *incestuous person*, himself, over to *satan*; to bring him to repentance, and to prevent his perishing. And the APOSTLE, though absent in body, yet present in *spirit*, intimated that he had sufficient power to do so. This was the proper way of treating so great an offender: and not their glorying in him; which was the ready way to lead them to an imitation of his example, and to universal corruption. Wicked men, out of the *church*, were not to be conversed with, too familiarly; when they could avoid their company: but wicked men, who pretended to belong to the *church*, were to be avoided, and not kept company with at all, nor treated with any familiarity; that such guilty persons might be ashamed, and the world see that the *christians* abhorred such practices. The *synagogue* had power, by the *roman laws*, to judge, in many *civil affairs*, relating to the *jews*: and the *christians* had, then, the same power, in their *churches*. For they were so far looked upon, by the *romans*, as a sect of the *jews*. But the *false apostle*, and the *faction* which opposed St. PAUL, would have had this affair, of the incestuous person, [or some other contest among themselves,] carried before the *beathen tribunal*; because (I suppose) they

knew,



“ knew, they would be condemned, by the majority of the members of <sup>Written</sup>  
 “ *their own church*. This was very unbecomeing, and unreasonable; as it <sup>from</sup>  
 “ would have exposed the *christians*. Nor could the *christian church* be <sup>Ephesus,</sup>  
 “ thought incapable, or unworthy, of decideing this affair. For *christians* <sup>An. Chri.</sup>  
 “ are to join in judgeing the world, of men, and even angels too. And, <sup>57.</sup>  
 “ surely, such temporal things could not be of equal weight and dignity. <sup>Nero. 3.</sup>  
 “ The meanest of the *christians* could have determined, in such an affair: <sup>Book III.</sup>  
 “ and, surely, much more their *wise men*; of whom (according to their <sup>Ch. VII.</sup>  
 “ boasting,) they must have had a considerable number. Instead of pa- <sup>Sect. IV.</sup>  
 “ tiently bearing with injuries, like true *christians*, they had done great in- <sup>Acts xix.</sup>  
 “ juries to others. But such, or any other, vices, persisted in, will ex- <sup>22.</sup>  
 “ clude men from the *kingdom of god*. They had, some of them, for-  
 “ merly, been great offenders. But that was, while they were *idolatrous*  
 “ *gentiles*. *Christianity* had laid them under strong obligations to the great-  
 “ est purity; and to abstain from what was not *expedient*, as well as what  
 “ was *unlawful*.

“ With *the seventh chapter*, begineth the *second part of the epistle*. In <sup>Ch. VII.</sup>  
 “ which, St. PAUL answereth the *questions*, that they had proposed to him,  
 “ in *their letter*; as well as solveth other difficulties. The *false apostle* be-  
 “ ing a zealous *judaizer*, there is a frequent reference to *jewish customs*;  
 “ which he would have imposed upon the *gentile christians*. In the first  
 “ place, the *jewish canons* bound marriage upon men, as a duty; and said,  
 “ that *he, who liveth to such an age, and marrieth not, breaketh a preceptive*  
 “ *law*. This the *false apostle* seemeth to have urged, as a necessary rule to  
 “ *christians*. St. PAUL, in his answer, saith, that marriage, or a single  
 “ life, have, neither of them, any thing culpable in them: and that, ac-  
 “ cording to times and circumstances, it is preferable, either to marry, or  
 “ to live single. Particularly, that, in times of persecution, and from a  
 “ due consideration of the transient, uncertain, enjoynments of this present  
 “ state, a single life seemeth more eligible; as attended with fewer troubles  
 “ and temptations: but, that marriage is much to be preferred, at all  
 “ times, to incontinence. And, that *christian* husbands and wives con-  
 “ tinue under obligations to the same mutual affection and regard, as they  
 “ were, before they became *christians*: though extraordinary devotion  
 “ might, sometimes, require extraordinary abstinence. But they were  
 “ not to do any thing that might break in upon their chastity. *Christian*  
 “ husbands and wives were still to live with their unconverted mates; un-  
 “ lesse they refused to continue with them. For *christianity* altereth nothing  
 “ in men's civil rights, or duties. And there might be some hopes of  
 “ their bringing their unconverted mates, over to *christianity*, by time and  
 “ prudence. However; as the *jews* accounted the children of their *pro-*  
 “ *selytes* clean, or members of the *covenant*, if one of their parents were  
 “ come over to the *jewish religion*; so were *christians*, to look upon *their*  
 “ *children*, as *an holy seed*; even though one of the parents had not yet  
 “ imbraced *christianity*. As to single persons; he again intimateth, that,  
 “ in



- Written from Ephesus, An. Chri. 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22. Ch. VIII, IX, X.
- “ in a time of persecution, a single life was preferable. However; he did  
 “ not expressly command a man to keep his virgin daughter single, though  
 “ she had passed the flower of life. He only proposed it, as, in most in-  
 “ stances, adviseable; especially in times of distresse.  
 “ Another thing, about which they seem to have consulted the APOSTLE,  
 “ was, concerning the use of things indifferent; and, particularly, con-  
 “ cerning *meats* and *drinks* offered to *idols*. In his answer, he begins with  
 “ reflecting upon their boasting pretensions to knowledge; and intimateth,  
 “ that they, some of them, thought they had no need to be instructed.  
 “ However; he letteth them know, that *idols* were only fictitious, ima-  
 “ ginary *gods*; and that *christians* had but *one* GOD, the *father*; and *one*  
 “ LORD JESUS CHRIST, who was the *only mediator* between GOD and *man*:  
 “ and that (how *knowing* soever they pretended to be) some of their *chris-*  
 “ *tian brethren* were apt still to reverence the *idols*, which they had former-  
 “ ly worshiped; whenever they eat meats offered to them. And, there-  
 “ fore, though such, as understood *their christian liberty*, might lawfully  
 “ eat of such meats, even in the *idol's temple*, provided they retained no re-  
 “ verence for the *idol*; yet, if there was any danger of offending their weak  
 “ *brother christian*, and leading him to eat, in reverence of the *idol*; it was  
 “ their duty to abstain. For *that abstinence* (as they might remember) was  
 “ according to St. PAUL's own practice; who, though he was an APOSTLE,  
 “ and free to use his liberty, if he had pleased; *that is*, he could have de-  
 “ manded a maintenance of them, to whom he preached; yet, as it was not  
 “ *expedient*, as well as *lawful*, he would not do it. The *false apostle* had,  
 “ indeed, done it. But he had not so sincere a regard for their good, and  
 “ for the promoteing of *true christianity*, as St. PAUL had. He, though  
 “ free from all men, yet voluntarily became a servant to all; that he might  
 “ win as many as he could, both of the *jews* and *gentiles*. He gave up his  
 “ own right, and ease, and liberty, in this world; as expecting his reward,  
 “ in a better. And, the *christians*, at *Corinth*, notwithstanding their *baptism*,  
 “ and partakeing of the *lord's supper*, were not at liberty to do any thing,  
 “ which might countenance *idolatry* or *impurity*: lest, in the end, it should  
 “ happen, to them, as it did to the *Israelites* of old; who (though they  
 “ were *the peculiar people of GOD*, and initiated into the *Mosaic covenant*)  
 “ perished, for their *idolatry*, and other vices. Nor was the persecution,  
 “ which had yet fallen, upon the *christians*, at *Corinth*, so great, as to lead  
 “ them into such guilty compliances: nor ought any persecution to have  
 “ done it. For there was an utter inconsistency between their countenance-  
 “ ing *idolatry*, and eating the *lord's supper*. And though, in such cases,  
 “ as where there was no danger of offending scrupulous consciences, or of  
 “ hardening *idolators*, it might be lawful to eat *meats* offered to *idols*, and  
 “ even in the *idol's temple*; yet, all things, that were *lawful*, were not *ex-*  
 “ *pedient*. And these were cases, which could hardly ever happen; name-  
 “ ly, *that they should eat such things, without all danger of doing harm*. They,  
 “ therefore, were not to go to the uttermost bounds of their own liberty;  
 “ but to consult the good of others. They had no occasion, when they  
 “ bought



“bought meat, in the market; or were at the table of a neighbor, that  
 “was an *idolatrous gentile*; to ask, whether it had, or had not, been de-  
 “voted to an *idol*? But, in such cases, they might buy, or eat, it, with-  
 “out scruple. But, if any body should voluntarily inform them, that it  
 “had been devoted to an *idol*; they had better not meddle with it; lest  
 “they hardened *idolators*, or offended *jews*, or *christians*. This was the  
 “APOSTLE’S own temper and practice; which he proposed to their imita-  
 “tion. For, in so doing, he imitated the LORD JESUS CHRIST.

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 from  
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“It was the custom of that age, for the *women* to wear veils; as a to-  
 “ken of their modesty, and of their subjection to the men. And they  
 “were not onely to appear, in the *church*, with their veils on; but (when  
 “any of them *prayed*, or *prophefied*, in the public assembly; as they might  
 “do, when they were under an immediate *impulse of the spirit*) they were  
 “not then to throw off their veils, any more than at any other time. The  
 “*false apostle* seemeth to have attempted to introduce the contrary custom.  
 “But St. PAUL commendeth them, that they had not complied with him;  
 “but kept to the orders, which he himself had given them. However;  
 “they had deviated so far from his order, concerning the celebration of  
 “the *lord’s supper*; that he commendeth them not, in that particular. For,  
 “contrary to the uniteing nature of that ordinance, they fell into schisms  
 “and divisions. And, when they came together to eat the *lord’s supper*,  
 “they brought their common suppers into the *church*; which they eat,  
 “every one apart, and by himself. Nay, farther; the rich eat and drank  
 “to excess; and denied the poor a share with them. This eating their  
 “own suppers, in the church, in separate companies; drinking to excess,  
 “and denying the poor a share in their provisions, was, not *discerning the*  
 “LORD’S *body*; or not sufficiently distinguishing the *lord’s supper*, from a  
 “common meal. Possibly, the *false apostle*, who was so fond of *jewish cus-*  
 “*toms*, had introduced this enormity; under a pretence of imitateing  
 “OUR LORD; who, in his institution of *this ordinance*, first eat the *pass-*  
 “*over-supper*; and then concluded with the *lord’s supper*. But, whatever  
 “was the occasion of this irregularity, the APOSTLE orders them to eat  
 “their own *common supper*, at home. And then he repeteth the method of  
 “observing the LORD’S *supper*, in that right manner, which he had received,  
 “immediately from the LORD JESUS himself; and had taught them, for-  
 “merly, when he was at *Corinth*. The sum of which, was; that they  
 “should all meet, in a body, and take *bread* and *wine*, in a reverent man-  
 “ner; *in remembrance of the death of CHRIST*, and to preserve a sense of  
 “*his love*, in the *church*. According to this account, they were to exa-  
 “mine themselves; and, in this manner, attend at the *table of the LORD*.  
 “But, if they were guilty of irreverence, in that sacred place, they would  
 “eat and drink unworthily; and might justly expect some divine judg-  
 “ments would befall them; such as sicknesse, or temporal death. Nay; he  
 “intimateth, that such judgments had already befallen some of them; as  
 “chastisements from GOD, to prevent their being condemned, at last, with a  
 “wicked world. And there was danger of such judgments befalling others  
 “of

Ch. XI.



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Sect. IV.

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22.

Ch. XII.

XIII.

XIV.

“ of them ; if they did not examine their ways, and repent. If they recti-  
“ fied these great abuses, St. PAUL told them, he would come in person,  
“ and regulate the lesser abuses among them.

“ The following *section of this epistle*, was occasioned, by contentions,  
“ among the *christians*, at *Corinth*, about the exercising of their *spiritual*  
“ *gifts*. And, perhaps, the *Corinthians* had, in *their letter*, inquired, in  
“ *what order they should exercise them* ? It must be remembered, that the bo-  
“ dy of *this church* had been collected, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*.  
“ But there were also some *jewish christians*, among them. And the *false*  
“ *apostle*, in particular, was a *jew* by nation. St. PAUL, therefore, ad-  
“ dresseth both ; putting the *gentile converts*, or the body of the *church*, in  
“ mind, that they had been formerly *idolators* ; and led away, by such  
“ *dumb idols*, as could not *speak*, and *prophecie*, themselves ; much lesse in-  
“ due their votaries with the *gift of tongues and prophecie*. Notwithstanding  
“ which, GOD had, out of his free grace, given them his *spirit*, since they  
“ had imbraced *the gospel*. The *jews*, who gloried in being the *antient*  
“ *people of GOD* ; pretending to have the *spirit of GOD*, and looking upon  
“ it, as peculiar to their nation ; [see *Acts* x. 45.] had, now, no præfer-  
“ ence, upon that account, under the *gospel*. For, upon the *believing gen-*  
“ *tiles*, the *holy spirit* was conferred : while the *unbelieving jews*, who called  
“ JESUS accursed, did not partake of the *gifts of the spirit* ; whatever pre-  
“ tensions they made thereto. As both *jews and gentiles*, therefore, had  
“ received the *holy spirit*, from mere, undeserved favor ; there was reason  
“ for all of them to be modest and humble ; and not to assume any undue  
“ superiority over the other *christians* ; who had the *spirit* as well as they.  
“ Whatever *gifts* they, any of them, had, they were all communicated,  
“ by one and the same *spirit* ; through one and the same LORD, and from  
“ one and the same GOD. And (though they were various) they were all  
“ fitted, and designed, either for founding, or building up, *the church*.  
“ APOSTLES, for instance, had *the word of wisdom*. Superior prophets had  
“ *the word of knowlege*. Doctors, or inspired teachers, had *the gift of faith*.  
“ Other *christians* had the power of working *extraordinary miracles*. And  
“ others, again, could miraculously *heal diseases*. Some had the *inferior*  
“ *gift of prophecie* ; whereby they could *help the christians*, in carrying on  
“ their *religious worship*, by *praying, singing, or making discourses*, by *imme-*  
“ *diate revelation*. Others, again, had the *gift of discerning the spirits*, or  
“ *secret thoughts, of men* : by which, they could direct *the church* ; how  
“ to *steer their course*, or act with the greatest discretion. Some could  
“ *speak various languages*. And others could, readily and intelligibly, in-  
“ terpret such languages.—But all these *extraordinary gifts* proceeded, from  
“ one and the same *spirit* ; who distributed them, as he saw most proper.  
“ And, like the several members of the human body, they were all useful,  
“ in their place. The most excellent could not do, without the least and  
“ meanest. And, therefore, none of them were to be despised, or neg-  
“ lected. Though the highest (or best) gifts were most *zealously* to be ex-  
“ ercised ; because they were fitted for the greatest usefulness. The Co-  
“ rinthians,



“*Corinthians*, under the influence of the *false apostle*, appears to have magnified the gift of tongues, especially; and to have set it above all the gifts. For it struck mankind exceedingly, and made the greatest show. And, at the same time, he did not manifest so much *charity* [or *love*] to St. PAUL; and to the *Christians*, who had other *spiritual gifts*; as he ought to have done. With a view to these things, St. PAUL hath intimated, that having the *tongues of men and angels*, was not equal to *charity*, [or *love*.] Nay; that having the *superior gifts*, of the *word of wisdom*, and of *knowledge*; or the *power* of working the greatest *miracles*; or *martyrdom*, or the largest and most ostentatious *charities*, would not, any of them, be of any moment, to the person himself, who had them, without *charity*, [or *love*.] That excellent *Christian virtue* destroyeth *impatience*, *envy*, *pride*, *covetousness*, *malice*, and *jealousie*; and inspireth men, with *patience*, and *benignity*. It will, likewise, endure for ever. Whereas; the *gifts* of the *spirit* were soon to vanish. And, finally, he assured them, that *charity*, [or *love*.] was more excellent than *faith* and *hope*. Above all things, therefore, they were to pursue *charity*, [or *love*.] though they were not to neglect their *spiritual gifts*. The order, in which their *gifts* were to be exercised, was, that *prophecy* [as being the most useful gift,] was to be preferred; especially, to speaking *unknown languages*; that is, such *languages*, as the *body of the church* did not understand. If any of them spoke with *tongues*; he was either to *interpret* what he had said, or another was to *interpret* it. But, if he could not *interpret* it, himself; and there was none present, that could *interpret*; then he, that had the *gift of tongues*, was to be silent. For the end of their having *spiritual gifts*, was, to convey *knowledge*; either to strangers, or to the *church*. If a stranger had happened to go into one of their assemblies; and they had all spoken languages, which he understood not; he would have been tempted to think they raved. But, if they *propheesied*; and, particularly, told him the secret thoughts of his own heart; he would easily be convinced, that *their gifts* were *divine*. When they assembled, for *religious worship*; each was earnest to speak first, or longest. Whereas; they were to suffer one another, patiently, to speak, in their turns. And, when some had spoken, others (who had the *gift of discerning spirits*) were to judge; and inform the *church*, whether they had spoken, by *inspiration*; or by private suggestion. Such, as were speaking, were to make an end, as soon as they decently and properly could; if another declared, that he had received a farther *revelation*, concerning what had been said, or concerning any thing of greater importance. Thus, all were to take their turns, in exercising their *spiritual gifts*. For the motions of the *spirit* might be regulated; and it was their duty to submit to all wise and possible regulations. The *women* might speak, when *inspired*. But they were not to say any thing, in the *church*, at other times. Though the *false apostle* seemeth to have encouraged their speaking, when under no *divine inspiration*.—These are the *rules*, which St. PAUL delivered, concerning

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Ch. XIV.



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Ch. XV.

cerning their *spiritual gifts*. And the *false apostle*, if he was influenced by the *spirit*, so much as he pretended, would easily know that they were the orders of CHRIST; who desired that all things in the church might be done with order and decency.

The great quarrel, which the *false apostle* had, with St. PAUL, seems to have been, that he was, at the bottom, a *saducee*; and disbelieved a resurrection from the dead, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Which was a doctrine, on which St. PAUL laid the greatest stress. As the *false apostle* had propagated that *false doctrine*, among the christians, at Corinth; St. PAUL here sheweth, that a resurrection from the dead, is not impossible to the power of GOD: that JESUS CHRIST was actually risen; and had been seen, after his resurrection, by many persons, who were then alive: that, seeing the possibility of a resurrection is, from hence, evident, and undeniable; he infereth, that the promise, to raise all mankind, may be depended upon: that the resurrection of CHRIST is a pledge of the general resurrection: that christianity was an insignificant institution, if this doctrine was false. Whereas; he assureth them, that he knew (upon sufficient evidence) that CHRIST was risen, as the first-fruits; and that all the dead would, in their order, arise also. That this was the grand motive, which animated him to preach the gospel, amidst so many dangers and sufferings. And, that the cutting off the expectations of the future recompence of the righteous, was the way to corrupt the morals of professed christians. And, by this, he obliquely proveth the *false apostle*; who (as he foresaw) would be ready to object, *How can this be effected? and with what sort of bodies shall they rise?* To which he answereth: That he, who can raise corne, from a small grain, can raise the human body out of the grave, and alter it into what form he pleaseth: that different creatures have, at present, different sorts of bodies: and, in like manner, that the bodies of good men will differ much from the present body. For they will then rise incorruptible, glorious, and in perfect vigor; and will be suted, as much, to a *spiritual*, as our present bodies are to an *animal*, state. This is the change, which will happen, to all the pious dead, in the last day. And then, also, the generation, which are liveing upon this earth, shall be suddenly changed, into the same meetness for the *spiritual state*, which is to succede. And he concludeth, from this glorious discovery, that the prospect of such a complete victory over death and the grave, ought to animate us, steadfastly, and all our days, to adhere to truth, and abound in every good work.

Ch. XVI.

In the next place, he presseth them, every one of them, to lay by, something, on the first day of the week, for the use of the poor christians, in Judaea; (as he had ordered other churches to do;) that the collection might be ready, when he came; which he intended to do, before next winter: that then he would send their collection, by such messengers, as they should approve of; and that he would either write along with them, or go himself. But, in the mean time, he thought to continue at Ephesus,



“*epheſus*, ’till *pentecoſt*; as haveing a proſpect of great uſefulneſſe, though  
 “there were ſeveral who oppoſed him. He begeth of them to take care of  
 “his beloved *Timothy*; whom he had lately ſent into *Macedonia* and *Achaia*.  
 “For he honeſtly preached the ſame *true goſpel* with *St. PAUL* himſelf.  
 “He expected *Timothy*, from *Corinth*, with other of the *chriſtians*. But  
 “he could not perſuade *Apollos* to return thither; though he had intreated  
 “him to return. After ſome exhortations to *love* and *unity*; and ſending  
 “*ſalutations*, as uſual; he concludeth, *If any man love not the LORD JESUS*  
 “*CHRIST*, let him be accuſed, when the *LORD* cometh to judgment. By which  
 “unusual *anathema*, he is thought to have pointed out the danger, to which,  
 “the *false APOSTLE*, by his wickedneſſe, expoſed himſelf. Whereas; he  
 “wiſhed the *favor of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST* to the other *chriſtians*, who  
 “conformed to the *true goſpel-doctrine*. Amen!”

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C H A P. VII. S E C T. V.

*The riot, raised by Demetrius, and his company of ſil-  
 verſmiths, drove St. PAUL, from Ephesus, ſooner  
 than he deſigned. Acts xix. 23, to the end of that  
 chapter.*

THE meſſengers, from the church of *Corinth*, being ſent back  
 again, with the *APOSTLE*'s letter to that church, he proced-  
 ed, in his great work, at *Ephesus*. But, whileſt he was imploying  
 his diligence there, and had his head and hands full of the care of  
 all the churches; there was no ſmall ſtir and tumult about that way;  
 that is, about the *chriſtian religion*. And the *APOSTLE* is moleſted,  
 and driven from thence, in a violent manner.—*Ephesus* was a very  
 conſiderable city; the *metropolis*, and noble mart, not onely of *Ionia*,  
 but even of all the *proconſular Aſia*. It was ſituated upon the ri-  
 ver *Layſter*, and was famous for the magnificent temple of *Diana*;  
 which was two hundred and twenty years in building, and was reared  
 at the common charge of all *Aſia propria*. It was four hundred and  
 twenty five feet long, and two hundred and twenty broad; ſupported  
 by an hundred and twenty ſeven ſtately pillars, each of them fixty  
 feet

Z 2

Ver. 23. \* The occaſion of the *Ephesians* dedicateing their city to *Diana*, may be  
 ſeen, in *Herodotus*, *Clio*. c. 26. edit. Gale, p. 10.



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Nero. 4.  
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feet high; the work of a king, who erected them, as a token of his piety and magnificence. And, indeed, so admirable and grand was the structure, that it was commonly esteemed *one of the seven wonders of the world*. It had been twice burnt down, before this. The first time, was, on that very day, in which *Socrates* was poisoned. And the second, was, on the night, in which *Alexander the great* was borne<sup>b</sup>. The last of which times, it was set on fire, on purpose, by *Erostratus*; who, being condemned to die for it, confessed, that "he had destroyed so exquisite a structure, purely that he might be remembered in future ages." Upon which, they not only put him to death; but the common-council of *Asia* made a *decree*, "that his name should never be mentioned more." It would have been a pity to have robbed him of that fame, for which he had so strong and ardent a desire; if he had sought it, by a more virtuous, and laudable, action. And, indeed, it was out of their power to do it. For most of the *historians*, who have wrote of that time, have (among other things) recorded this his extravagant love of fame.<sup>c</sup> It was again rebuilt; the famous *Denocrates* (whom *Alexander the great* did afterwards imploy, in planning and building the magnificent city of *Alexandria*) being architect; and it was wonderfully adorned; especially by the *Ephesians*. After this, *Nero* plundered it of it's riches. And, in the days of *Gallienus*, the emperor, the *Goths* intirely ruined it. Though, according to some travellers, there are still some venerable heaps of rubbish, and some few stately ruines, supposed to be the remains of that once *magnificent temple*. [See *Chishull's travels*, folio, p. 27.] However; when St. PAUL was there, the temple was in it's glory. And, in that idolatrous city, was the great APOSTLE persecuted, by some of the retainers to that temple of *Diana*. For one *Demetrius*, a *silversmith*, made silver shrines for *Diana*; that is, little models of the temple, with folding-doors; which, being opened, the image of the *godeffe* was seen placed therein. Those shrines he sold, unto such as used to come and worship her, at *Ephesus*. And it is not unlikely, but they might carry them home, and set them up, and consecrate them, in their private, or domestic, chapels.—*Demetrius*, being a leading man, if not the onely master, in that businesse, imployed a great many artificers under him; to whom he gave considerable wages. Those craftsmen did he

<sup>b</sup> Plutarchus in Alexandro. Cicero de natura deorum, lib. 2. & de divinatione, lib. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Valerius maximus, lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus, c. 40: Prideaux his connection, vol. 1. p. 468. 4th edition, 8vo. 1718.



he call together; and thus addressed himself to them: "*Brethren*,  
 "you know very well, that, by this trade, we get our bread, and  
 "all our riches. And, therefore, it greatly concerneth us, how we  
 "let the makeing of *images* be represented, as a foolish, or wicked,  
 "thing. Whereas; here is one PAUL; who hath been in this city,  
 "for some time; and who is become famous, by his works and doc-  
 "trine. And he (as you hear from others, and may see with your  
 "own eyes) hath persuaded a great many people, not onely of *Ephe-*  
 "*sus*, but almost of all *Asia*, that they are *no gods*, which are made  
 "by the hands of men. By which means, he hath hindered their  
 "frequenting the *temple* of *Diana*; and hath turned them aside from  
 "our *antient and establisshed religion*, and from buying up of our  
 "shrines. If things go on thus; and all should run after this PAUL,  
 "as several have done; our businesse is not onely in great danger of  
 "being brought into contempt, and of being laid aside, as uselesse;  
 "but *the public religion* will suffer. For *the temple of Diana* will  
 "be slighted, and her *deity* contemned. Though we have both *an-*  
 "*tiquity* and *universality* on our side. For the *godesse* fell down  
 "from *Jupiter*, many ages ago. And all *Asia*; nay, even *the*  
 "*world itself*; doeth reverence and worship her." The company of  
*silversmiths* understood him. And, betakeing themselves to the  
 common method, of concealing private resentment and sinister de-  
 signs, under the mask of a public spirit, and a *zele* for *religion*; —  
 they ran about the city, in a most wild, tumultuous, manner;  
 crying out, "*The church* is in danger. The magnificent *temple* of  
 "*Diana!* the *temple*, the *temple!* Great is *Diana* of the *Ephesians!*"  
 By this mean, they, in a little time, filled the whole city with con-  
 fusion and uproar. And, though they could not meet with the APO-  
 STLE himself, they seized upon two of his companions; namely,  
*Caius*<sup>d</sup> and *Aristarchus*, who were both *Macedonians*. And these two  
 they hurried into the *theatre*; very probably, with a design to have  
 them tried, before the court there: and, if they could obtain their  
 condemnation, to throw them to the *wild beasts*. St. PAUL had so  
 much *fortitude*, as that he would have ventured in, after them, to  
 have made his defence, before the people; or to have suffered with  
 them, or in their stead. But the *christians* would not consent to his  
 attempting any such thing. And some, even of the *Asiarchs* (who  
 were

Ver. 29.<sup>d</sup> I had once conjectured that *Caius*, mentioned 1 Cor. i. 14. Rom. xvi.  
 23. Acts xx. 4. 3 John, ver. 1. and in this text, had been one and the same person.  
 But, since that, I am dubious; and suspect they might be different persons. [See the  
*history* prefixed to the 2d. and 3d. epistles of St. John, § 5.]

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Ch. VII.

Sect. V.

Acts xix.

25, &amp;c.



An. Christi 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. V. Acts xix. 31, &c. were both *magistrates* of *Asia*, and *masters* of the *theatre*; præsideing over their *solemn rites*, and the *games*, which used to be celebrated in honor of *Diana*:—Even some of the *Asiarchs*, I say,) were so much his friends, as to send privately to him, to give him notice of the present temper of the people; and to beg of him not to venture himself into the *theatre*. Probably, they remembered what a narrow escape he had already had there. And, if he had now gone among them; it would scarce have been in the power of those *magistrates* to have saved him, among such an incensed rabble. The *tumult* still continued. And they seemed mightily enraged. Though the greatest part of them knew not for what. However; *Demetrius*, and his companions, still continued to blow up their zeal. By which mean, the confusion continued; and the multitude kept together, and persisted in their clamor: some crying out one thing, and some another. At last, they, by force, singled out *Alexander*. And the *jews*, also, pushed him forwards. For they would gladly have had him speak to the people: probably, as hoping that he would throw off the *odium* from them; and fix it all upon St. PAUL, and such as adhered to him. I take this to have been *Alexander the coppersmith*; who was one of the most violent *judaizeing christians*. And, consequently, one of the greatest enemies to St. PAUL; and most in favor with the *unbelieving jews*, of any that professed *christianity*. And, if so; no wonder that the *jews* should be desirous of his making an *oration* to the people. But, when he himself would have spoken, and beckoned with his hand for silence; the *people* would not hear him. For they knew that he was of the race of the *jews*. And, consequently, an enemy to *Diana*, and to their *idolatry*. They, therefore, began to bellow out again, all at once; and they held it for two hours; crying out, “Our *antient religion!* the *godeffe Diana!* Down “with the *jews* and the *christians*, with their *unknown GOD!* Great “is *Diana* of the *Ephesians!*” But, though *Alexander* was thereby prevented from speaking in public; he afterwards did the APOSTLE, and the *christian interest*, a great deal of harm, by his private treachery, and opposing the *liberty* of the *gentile converts*; that is, their freedom from the *Mosaic law*. When that enraged multitude had spent their zeal and their breath, and could be spoke with; the *recorder* of the city quashed the tumult, by the following speech: “O ye *Ephesians*, what hath moved you to make such a riot? As if the *church*, or “the *temple*, or our *antient religion*, was in danger? Doeth not all “the *world* know, that the city of *Ephesus* has devoted itself to “take care of, and adorn, the *temple* of the great *godeffe, Diana*; “and



“ and worshipeth that image of hers, which (according to tradition) fell  
 “ down from *Jupiter*?<sup>e</sup> As no man hath contradicted these things,  
 “ so as thereupon to make any tumult, or innovation; you ought to  
 “ have been quiet, and not to have acted so rashly and irregularly.  
 “ Why have you apprehended these two men? They have neither  
 “ robbed your *temple*, nor blasphemed your *gods*; nor said any thing  
 “ in particular about her, that I know of. For, supposing they  
 “ have spoken against *images*, made by the hands of men; it is well  
 “ known, that *this image* of *Diana* fell down from *Jupiter* him-  
 “ self, and was not made by the hands of any man. *Demetrius*, and  
 “ his companions, have imposed upon you; and engaged you in their  
 “ private quarrel. But they ought to have taken another method.  
 “ For, if they have just and legal accusations against any man;  
 “ there are court-days kept frequently, and proper judges:<sup>s</sup> before  
 “ whom

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58.

Nero. 4.

Book III.

Ch. VII.

Sect. V.

Acts xix.

35, &c.

Ver. 35.<sup>e</sup> τὴ Διοπετῆς [of the image, which fell down from *Jupiter*.] There is an account of *Cybele*, the mother of the gods, which is so like this, that it may not be amiss to relate it; that, by comparing them, we may see, whether it was not, originally, one and the same story.

*Herodian*. l. 1. *Oxon*. p. 26. *Boecler*. p. 34. αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα Διοπετῆς, ὡς λέγουσιν, κτλ. “ The image fell down from *Jupiter*, as they say; it not being known of what materials, nor by what artificer, it was made; neither was it formed by the hands of men. The report is, that it fell down from heaven, long ago, into that part of *Phrygia*, called *Pessinuns*; which place had that name given it, from the image's falling down, and first appearing, there. But others account differently for the name of that place, &c.”

The image of *Diana*, in the temple of *Taurus*, in *Scythia*, is also said to have fallen down from heaven. [*Euripid*. *Iphigen*. *Act*. 4. *West*, p. 194. *Act*. 5. p. 220.] *Vid. Poli* *synops*. in loc.

Ver. 37. f The APOSTLES, and their assistants, were very careful to give as little offence, as possible, to persons of different sentiments and religions; and observed an extraordinary decorum, in their words and behavior; considering their zeal and fervor, and the aversion which they had to idolatry and wickedness.

Ver. 38. g ἀγορά, originally, signifies a congregation, or assembly, of people. And, from thence it comes to signify, likewise, the place of assembling, the forum, whether understood of a market, or a court of judicature. ἀγοραῖος, or ἀγοραῖος, (about which difference of accent, writers are not agreed) denotes a thing belonging to the ἀγορά, in either sense. Hence ἀγοραῖος ἄνθρωπος is one of the rabble, a man beating the streets, or sauntering in the market-places; in which sense it is frequently used, by *Aristophanes*, and other writers; and *Acts* xvii. 5. —It likewise signifies a person conversant in law and court pleadings. Thus *Plutarch* speaks of *Thucydides*, in the life of *Pericles*, p. 287. edit. *Hen. Steph.* ὁ δὲ ἦτορ μὲν ὦν πολεμικὸς τῷ Κίμωνος, ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς μᾶλλον, οἰκιστὴν ἐν Ἀσεί καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα τῷ Περικλεί συμπελεκόμενος, ταχὺ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον κατέστησεν. *Herodian*. l. 6. c. 1. § 7. edit. *Boecl.* mentions πράξεις καὶ διοικήσεις πολιτικάς καὶ ἀγοραίους res & administrationes civiles & forenses. And l. 7. c. 9. § 5. ἐκ τίνος ἀγοραῖε διαφορᾷς ex forensi quadam lite. ἡ ἀγοραῖος is interpreted, by *Suidas*, to be ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἣ ἀγορὰ τελεῖται in qua forum agitur: but it seems rather to be ἀγοραῖος σύναξις conventus, a court of justice, or sessions. For so *Strabo* uses it, l. 13. p. 629.



An. Christi 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. V. Acts xix. 38, &c. “whom they ought to bring their differences. And, there, they “may have justice done them. But, if you inquire, concerning “other matters; (as, whether the *temple* is in danger, or no; or “what persons, or *religions*, shall be tolerated in the city;) you “ought to inquire in a regular and lawful assembly. For, I can “assure you, we are in danger of being called in question, by the “*proconsul*, (*Publius Suius*) for this day’s concourse and uproar. “And, I am greatly afraid, we shall not be able to give any good “account of the matter.” And, when he had made an end of his *speech*, he dismissed the people; commanding them to disperse, and to go each of them to their own houses.

## C H A P. VII. S E C T. VI.

*The* APOSTLE PAUL *leaveth* Ephesus; *goeth* to Troas; *delivereth* Hymenæus and Alexander over to satan. *The time, place, and occasion, of* St. PAUL’s *writing* the first epistle to Timothy. *The subject of that epistle considered.* Acts xx. i.

ST. PAUL finding it unsafe to tarry, any longer, at *Ephesus*; and his favorite, *Timothy*, being now returned from *Corinth*, as he expected; [1 Cor. xvi. 11.] he resolved to depart, with all speed; for

p. 629. edit. Casaubon. where he saith, that the parts of *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, &c. were intermixed, and not easily distinguished from each other; and he assigns this reason for it. εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγκυσιν ταύτην ἡ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει, τὸ τὰς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτὰς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διαλέξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιεῖται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας. Upon which, Casaubon, in his notes, “*scripti quidam habent τὰς ἀγοραίους.*” “Non recte. *Præses in provincia, quando jus dicit, forum agere, vel conventus, latine dicitur; græce ἀγοραίους ποιεῖσαι.* *Conventus enim Græci vertunt ἀγοραίους.* Sic accipiendum apud Lucam, Acts xix. 38.” If the article had been prefixed, viz. οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἀγόνται [scil. συνάξεις] the expression had been plain and clear: but the want of the article seems to be compensated, by the word ἀγόνται, and by the addition of ἀνθρώποι εἰσιν, i. e. *there are courts, or sessions, held; and there are judges.* For the *proconsuls*, or *prætors*, were judges, in these provincial courts. And *Asia*, being one of the provinces belonging to the senate, was governed by a *proconsul*, and not by a *prætor*; as the word ἀνθρώποι implies.

N. B. This note was communicated to the author, by a learned friend.



for fear of occasioning another tumult, or of drawing any farther odium upon the *christians*. Before the riot, raised by *Demetrius*, and his company of *silversmiths*, the APOSTLE had sent *Titus*, to *Corinth*; and another *christian brother*, along with him; to see what reception his *first epistle* had met with, in *that church*. [2 Cor. xii. 18.] And he himself designed to have tarried at *Ephesus*, 'till *Titus* returned; and then to have gone directly to *Corinth*; from thence, to *Macedonia*; then back again to *Corinth*. [2 Cor. i. 15, 16.] But the riot forced him to alter his scheme. As, therefore, the APOSTLE was forced away, from *Ephesus*, sooner than he had designed; and the *unbelieving jews* and *gentiles*, as well as the *judaizing christians*, were exceedingly averse to the *true christian doctrine*; he desired *Timothy* to stay behind him, in that idolatrous city; that he might, in his absence, take care of the *christian church*, which had been so lately planted there: — at least, 'till *true christianity* was a little more rooted, and established, among them. And St. PAUL himself, having called together the *christians*, at *Ephesus*; and, in a solemn and affectionate manner, taken his leave of them; he set out, by sea, for *Macedonia*; having already dispatched orders to *Titus*, to meet him, at *Troas*. [2 Cor. ii. 12.] As he went along the road, it is highly probable, that he ruminated, very much, upon the state, in which he had left the *church* of *Ephesus*: and that, in his journey, or as soon as he arrived at *Troas*, he delivered *Alexander* and *Hymenæus* over to *satan*; that they might be tormented with some bodily pains and diseases, to teach them not to blaspheme, nor rail at, the *true christian doctrine*; of which they had been notoriously guilty. [1 Tim. i. 20.] They had, both of them, in profession, imbraced the *christian religion*; but they were zealous *judaizers*, and men of immoral characters. For they understood the *true christian doctrine*, and had sufficient evidences of it's excellence; but, to please the *unbelieving jews*, and to compass their other low designs, they had prostituted their own consciences, and made shipwreck of the *true christian faith*. However; bad as they were now, they afterwards grew worse. For *Hymenæus* came, at length, to assert, that *the resurrection was already passed*; and thereby caused some *professed christians* to despair, and apostatize. [2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.] And *Alexander* opposed St. PAUL, and did him a great deal of harm; [2 Tim. iv. 14, 15.] either by venting erroneous and wicked doctrines, and fathering them upon that APOSTLE; or rather, perhaps, by zealously and furiously contending, that the *doctrine* of the *judaizing christians* was the *true gospel-doctrine*; and that not

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An. Christi 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VI. Acts xx. 1. onely the *jewish*, but the *gentile, christians*, also, ought to be subject to the *whole law of Moses*, as necessary to their salvation. The riot, which the *silversmiths* raised, against the APOSTLE, seems, in part, to have affected him. But the furious opposition of the *unbelieving jews*, at *Ephesus*, appeareth to me to have affected him much more. The *judaizing christians* would have compelled the *gentile converts*, in the churches of *Galatia*, to have been *circumcised*; that they themselves might avoid the persecution, raised by the *unbelieving jews*. [Gal. vi. 12.] And it is evident, [from 1 Tim. i. 4; 7.] that the *judaizers* had a strong party, in the *christian church*, at *Ephesus*; "who gave heed to fables, and endlesse genealogies; and pretended to be *doctors* of the *law*, though they understood it not, nor the design of it." One so deeply engaged, as St. PAUL was, in spreading *true christianity*; and that had so lately left a church, of his own planting, which was yet in it's tender state of infancy, and in the midst of such enemies; must needs be very anxious for *Timothy*, and that church at *Ephesus*. And, therefore, it is no wonder that he should write to them.—To them, I say. For it is evident, from many passages in the *first epistle to Timothy*, that he wrote that letter, not for *Timothy's* sake alone; but for the sake, also, of the *christian church* at *Ephesus*; and with a design, most probably, that *Timothy* should read it to them. This, therefore, may be looked upon, as the *true epistle* to the *Ephesians*. Whereas; what we commonly call so, appears to be St. PAUL's *epistle* to the *Laodiceans*.—That the *first epistle to Timothy* was written, from *Troas*, and at this time, is what I incline to believe, for the following reasons. (1.) What is said, 1 Tim. iv. 12. *Let no man despise thy youth*. For, supposeing *Timothy* to have been sixteen years old, in the year of OUR LORD 46. when he was converted to *christianity*; he would onely be twenty, in the year 50. when St. PAUL took him, along with him, as an *evangelist*. And younger than that, we cannot well suppose him to have been. He was now, therefore, [that is, in the begining of the year 58.] about twenty-seven. And, surely, this age was much more likely to occasion such an injunction, from St. PAUL; [namely, *that no man should despise his youth*;] than thirty-four, or thirty-five: which he must have been, in the year 65; the time, which hath been pitched upon, by many, for the writeing of *this epistle*. A man of thirty years of age, or above, is in no great danger of being *despised for his youth*. Thirty is reckoned a mature age. It was the year, in which the *levites*, under the *law*, entered upon their office. [Numb. iv. 3; 23; 30; 35; 39; 43; 47.]



47.] About that age, OUR BLESSED LORD (as well as *John the baptist*, his forerunner) began his ministry. And, about that age, I reckon St. PAUL to have been, when he was made APOSTLE of the gentiles. If *Timothy*, therefore, was above thirty, in the year 65; we may reasonably suppose *this epistle* to have been written before that time.—Again; it is said, [I Cor. xvi. 10, 11.] “If *Timothy* come; (that is, to *Corinth*) let no man despise him.” Most probably, St. PAUL was afraid of his being despised there, also, upon the account of his youth. That, therefore, is a confirmation of what hath been said. For the *first epistle* to the *Corinthians* was confessedly written, a little before this time. And these two cautions seem to have risen, from the same anxious concern of the APOSTLE, for his young friend, who was so deeply engaged in so arduous a work. (2.) “The *first epistle* to *Timothy* doeth very well sute the state of the church at *Ephesus*, and agreeth with the history of St. PAUL’s travels and labors; if we suppose it to have been written, at this time; but will not sute the state of things, in the year 65.” By the strain of *the epistle*, it appeareth, that corruptions were just creeping into the church at *Ephesus*: that “they were begining to swerve from the charity, which they owed to the *gentile christians*; and were turning aside to vane janglings; desiring to teach the law, in order to please the *jews*, and *judaizeing christians*.” Accordingly; *Timothy* was desired “to tarry there, and warn them to teach no other doctrine, than what the APOSTLE had taught. This advice, St. PAUL gave him, in hopes of returning shortly to *Ephesus*, and backing it with his own authority. Or, if he was prevented, that *Timothy* might not want directions, how to behave in such a situation.” When the APOSTLE came, afterwards, to *Miletus*, and had sent for the *bishops* of the church of *Ephesus*; he intimateth, that “the corruptions among them would yet grow worse.” [Acts xx. 29, &c.] And, when he wrote his *second epistle* to *Timothy*, they were actually grown worse. [See 2 Tim. i. 15. and ii. 17,—26. and iii. 6,—9.] But it is probable [from Rev. ii. 1, &c.] that they were, in a great measure, recovered from this corruption, in the year 96. when I suppose St. *John* wrote *the revelation*.

Another strong circumstance, to the present purpose, is this:—It was common with the APOSTLES, not to ordain *bishops* and *deacons*, upon the first planting of a church. But, after they had made some progresse in knowlege, and were established in the faith; then the APOSTLES, or some of their attendents, went, and ordained the most knowing, prudent, and distinguished, of the *first converts*, to be



An. Christi <sup>58.</sup> *bishops* and *deacons*, to manage the affairs of *that church*. [See on Nero. 4. I Thess. v. 12. and the essay, annexed to 2 Tim. chap. ii. iii.] Now, it doeth not appear that there were any *bishops*, or *deacons*, at *Ephesus*, when St. PAUL left that city. For *Timothy* is told what qualifications he was to look for, in the persons, to be set apart for those offices; [1 Tim. iii. 1, &c.] and is charged to *lay hands suddenly on no man*. [1 Tim. v. 22.] Whereas; it is evident that there were *bishops*, at *Ephesus*, not long after; whom St. PAUL sent for, to *Miletus*: [Acts xx. 17; 28.] the very persons, I suppose, whom *Timothy* had ordained. Now, that was in the conclusion of this year, 58. In the beginning of which year, I suppose, the *first epistle* to *Timothy* was written. A long time before the year 65! (3.) The dating of *this epistle*, in the year 65. appeareth to have been grounded upon a mere mistake: *that is*, because St. PAUL had sent *Timothy*, with *Erastus*, to *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, a little before he wrote the *first epistle* to the *Corinthians*. [Acts xix. 21, 22. 1 Cor. iv. 17.] Therefore, it is objected, “that *Timothy* could not be with the APOSTLE, “when he was leaveing *Ephesus*, nor be then desired to tarry behind “him.” To which I answer. It is plane, [from 1 Cor. xvi. 8; 10, 11.] that St. PAUL expected *Timothy* to return to him, at *Ephesus*. And St. LUKE’s silence, about his return, is no sufficient objection against it: because, for the sake of brevity, he hath passed over many things of the like nature. Nor doeth it appear that *Timothy*’s return was impossible. On the contrary: the state of things render it highly probable that he did return. For, it is generally agreed, that St. PAUL wrote the *first epistle* to *Timothy*, as he went, from *Ephesus*, to *Macedonia*. And, indeed; what is said, 1 Tim. i. 3. seemeth to be a sufficient confirmation of that. Now, two such journeys, are all that are contended for. The first is undeniable; [from Acts xx. 1, &c. 1 Cor. xvi. 5. 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.] *that is*, in the beginning of this year, 58. For the latter, there are onely conjectures; namely, because he had told the *Philippians*, and some of the *Colossians*, that he designed them a visit, after he was set at liberty, from that, his first, confinement, at *Rome*; [Phil. i. 23,—26. and ii. 24. Philemon, ver. 22.] “therefore it is supposed that he took “such a journey; and took *Ephesus* in his way, between *Colosse* and “*Philippi*.” That he did take this rout, after he had got his liberty, is a mere conjecture. But, that he took *Ephesus* in his way, is utterly improbable. For he had never promised to return again to *Ephesus*. On the contrary; he planely and expressly *prophefied*, and declared, that “he knew the *bishops* of *Ephesus* would see his face no “more.”



“more.” [Acts xx. 25.] And, if the first be the onely journey; and *this epistle* was written in, or soon after, that journey; the date is fixed, at the time, for which we are now contending. *Estius*, *Baronius*, and Dr. *Lightfoot*, do all date it about this time. And Dr. *Hammond*, not onely dates it at this time; but intimates, that *Troas* was, most probably, the place, where the APOSTLE wrote it. But the noble author of *Miscellanea Sacra*, has carried the thought farther, in his postscript to the præface. Which is well worth the perusal. —What arguments are here added, to confirm that account, may be easily seen, by comparing this history with that postscript.

The *Coptic version*, indeed, has these words, at the conclusion of this epistle, *Διὰ Τίτου, μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ*, intimateing, that “St. PAUL sent *this epistle*, by *Titus*, his own convert.” [Vid. Mill. in 1 Tim. vi. ad fin.] If that be an authentic tradition, *this epistle* was written, not from *Troas*, but from *Macedonia*. Or, if the APOSTLE wrote it, at *Troas*; he must have carried it into *Macedonia*, and have sent it, from thence, to *Ephesus*. For *Titus* did not come to *Troas*, as St. PAUL expected; but met him in *Macedonia*. [2 Cor. ii. 12, &c. and vii. 5, 6.] But, if that reading of the *Coptic version* be onely an ingenious conjecture, (and that is all, which it appeareth to be,) no argument can be drawn from it. However; I am more concerned about fixing *the time*, than *the place*. And the *Coptic version* rather confirms what has been said upon that head. I reckon that this was written the fifth of St. PAUL’s *epistles*. But, by whom it was sent, doeth not now appear; unlesse we may depend upon the reading, that has just been produced, from the *Coptic version*. Which, I apprehend, one cannot rationally do.

“ST. PAUL begins with asserting his *apostolic character*; which the *judaeizers* had, very probably, called in question; and directs the *epistle* to *Timothy*, his own convert; wishing him all happiness. And then, he enters upon the grand design of the *epistle*; acquainting *Timothy*, that, when he set out for *Macedonia*, he left him at *Ephesus*, to oppose the *judaeizing christians*; to warn them to keep close to the *true, apostolic, doctrine*; and to lay no stress upon fables and endless genealogies; but, to exercise *love*, especially towards the *gentile converts*. For such, as turned aside from the sincerity and love, required by the *gospel*, that they might impose the *law of Moses* upon the *gentile christians*, did not duly consider what they did, nor what was the grand design of *the law*. A *law* is made to restrain, and condemn, (not the good, but) the wicked. And the *gospel* condemneth all manner of wickedness. Of this

“most

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58.  
Nero. 4.

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Acts xx.



Written

from

Troas,

An. Chri.

58.

Nero. 4.

Book III.

Ch. VII.

Sect. VI.

Acts xx.

1.

Ch. II.

“ most excellent *dispensation*, St. PAUL had been made an APOSTLE;  
 “ even after he had been an enemy, and a persecutor. Which he could  
 “ not think of, without transport, and the warmest gratitude! And,  
 “ from GOD’s superabundant mercy to himself, he inviteth all sinners to re-  
 “ pent; as haveing now no reason to doubt of mercy, and acceptance.  
 “ And then he breaketh out again, in praise, to the great GOD, the king of  
 “ the several dispensations; as astonished at the wisdom and goodnesse,  
 “ which shone through them all. In this rapturous strain, he letteth Ti-  
 “ moty know, that he committed this work to him; remembering,  
 “ that he had been pointed out, by *prophecie*, as one, who would be fit for  
 “ such service. And he doubted not, but Timothy would preserve the pu-  
 “ rity of the *christian faith*, and a good conscience; though some of the  
 “ *judaizeing christians* had preserved neither. And two of them, in parti-  
 “ cular; namely, *Alexander* and *Hymeneus*, had acted so wickedly and ma-  
 “ liciously, as to occasion the delivering them over to *satan*; to torment  
 “ their bodies, that they might be reduced to repentance, for their wilful  
 “ misrepresentations of the *true, christian doctrine*.

“ The *jews*, and *judaizeing christians*, confined their charity very much  
 “ to their own sect, or nation; and would not pray for the *uncircumcised*  
 “ *gentiles*. They were, likewise, apt to despise the *princes* of other nati-  
 “ ons, and did not pay a proper deference to them. In opposition to their  
 “ seditious, and uncharitable temper, the APOSTLE ordered that *christians*  
 “ should pray for all men; for governors, or subjects; *jews*, or *gentiles*.  
 “ For GOD himself would have all men to be saved; and (as the most ex-  
 “ cellent mean to that end) to imbrace *true christianity*. Why, then,  
 “ should men confine their charity to a few? There is one and the same  
 “ GOD, and one and the same mediator, for all mankind: which *mediator*  
 “ died, as a ransom for all. From him, St. PAUL had his commission, as  
 “ APOSTLE of the *gentiles*. And, therefore, his injunctions came with au-  
 “ thority. By *that authority*, he farther ordered, that the *men* should of-  
 “ fer up their public prayers; and that in any place, as well as in the *jew-*  
 “ *ish synagogue*, or *temple*: intimateing, that, in every place, they would  
 “ be accepted, if they prayed with holinesse and charity. That the *women*  
 “ should wear decent and modest apparel, and not delight too much in a  
 “ rich, or gay, dresse: but, that their glory, and chief ornament, ought  
 “ to be their good works. That the *women* should learn, and never teach,  
 “ in the *church*: (that is, unlesse when they were under *immediate inspira-*  
 “ *tion*.) And, that they should always be in subjection; as the *woman*  
 “ was created for the *man*, and helped to seduce him. Notwithstanding  
 “ which, the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent’s head. And the  
 “ sex, which introduced death, shall introduce life. For, by procreation  
 “ of children, and especially of that remarkable child, the *messiah*, they  
 “ themselves, as well as the other sex, shall be saved: provided they con-  
 “ tinue in the true faith, in christian love, and in holinesse; and behave in  
 “ a prudent, discreet, manner.

“ It



" It doeth not appear that the APOSTLE himself, during his long stay <sup>Written</sup>  
 " at *Ephesus*, had appointed any to be *bishops*, or *deacons*. But he left *Ti-* <sup>from</sup>  
 " *motby* to do this, as well as other things. And he now ordered, that <sup>Troas,</sup>  
 " such, as were admitted to be *bishops*, should be men of prudence and <sup>An. Chri.</sup>  
 " piety: capable of teaching, and governing, *the church*; and that would <sup>58.</sup>  
 " behave so, as to recommend *christianity*: not *novices*, but persons of <sup>Nero. 4.</sup>  
 " some standing in the *christian church*; lest they should grow proud and <sup>Book III.</sup>  
 " insolent. As to the *deacons*; they, also, were to be men of virtue, pru- <sup>Ch. VII.</sup>  
 " dence, and integrity. And, that he might choose such; the APOSTLE <sup>Sect. VI.</sup>  
 " ordered, that they should first be approved, as *private christians*. The <sup>Acts xx.</sup>  
 " *deaconesses* were, likewise, to behave well; lest their wickedness, or fol- <sup>I.</sup>  
 " ly, should be a reflection upon the *christian religion*. If the *deacons* be- <sup>Chap. III.</sup>  
 " haved well, in private life, as well as in their public stations; he as-  
 " sureth them, the *office* was not contemptible. These directions the A-  
 " POSTLE gave; that, if he should not return to *Ephesus*, shortly, as he  
 " then expected, *Timothy* might know how to behave. For (the scheme  
 " of the *gospel-doctrine*) the mystery of godliness was great; and the mys-  
 " tery of iniquity was begining to work. And he seemeth to point out the  
 " *judaizers*, as the persons, who made way for the grand *apostasy*; though  
 " that *apostasy* would not come to it's height, 'till the latter times. Such  
 " pretences to *angelical purity*, and such distinctions of meats, are of no  
 " account; in comparison of true godliness, and that substantial virtue,  
 " to which GOD hath annexed a blessing, both in this, and a future, life:  
 " that GOD, who is the savior of all men; whether *jews*, or *gentiles*; if  
 " they believe, and obey, the *gospel*. These things *Timothy* was to teach; <sup>Chap. V.</sup>  
 " and to behave so, as that no man might despise his youth. On the  
 " contrary; he was to be an example, to the *christians*, of every virtue.  
 " And, by private study, and public instructions, he was to improve his  
 " *spiritual gifts*; and recommend the *doctrine*, which he had imbraced.  
 " His prudence was, particularly, to appear, in his intreating aged per-  
 " sons, in a filial and modest manner, to comply with what was their du-  
 " ty: and, in his dealing with younger persons, with familiarity and af-  
 " fection; but, without levity, or any indecency. Such *poor widows*, as  
 " had children, or grand-children, were to be maintained by them. For  
 " such, as were able, were not to burthen the *church* with their indigent  
 " relations. But such *widows*, as were intirely desolate, and pious, were  
 " to be maintained, by the *christian church*; and to minister to it, as *dea-*  
 " *conesses*, in any offices, where they could be of service. To prevent  
 " scandal, they were not to be taken into that office, under sixty years of  
 " age; and then they were not to be admitted, unlesse they had lived pi-  
 " ously, and behaved prudently, in the former part of their life, and in a  
 " more private character. The *younger widows* would be more able to  
 " maintain themselves; and, if taken into the number of such, as were  
 " restrained from marrying among the *christians*, they would be under a  
 " temptation of marrying to such as were not *christians*, and of throwing  
 " off *christianity* itself. They were, therefore, to marry; that they might  
 " bear,



Written  
from  
Troas,  
An. Chr.  
58.  
Nero. 4.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. VI.  
Acts xx.  
I.

“ bear, and piously educate, children; and so behave, as that *christianity*  
 “ might not suffer. For some had (probably, by such restraints) been  
 “ made to forsake the *christians*. The elders, who præfided well, and also  
 “ taught *christianity*, were (*like the first borne*) to have a double portion.  
 “ For it is a most reasonable thing, that the laborer should have his re-  
 “ ward. The character of the *elders* was of great importance. And,  
 “ therefore, *Timothy* was not to encourage idle reports against them; nor  
 “ to hear any accusation of them, unless it could be attested by two or  
 “ three credible witnesses. But such, as were convicted, were to be re-  
 “ proved publicly; to deter others from offending. In ordaining *bishops*  
 “ and *deacons*, *Timothy* was warned not to procede rashly; and told, that  
 “ some cases are plane, and others more involved. And, therefore, men’s  
 “ characters were to be carefully considered; before he laid his hands  
 “ upon, and ordained, the good; or reprov’d, and rejected, the bad.  
 “ The *slaves*, who were converted to *christianity*, were to continue faithful-  
 “ ly to serve their infidel-masters. Or, if their masters were *christian bre-*  
 “ *thren*, they were not to despise them; as if *christianity* made any altera-  
 “ tion in temporal affairs, or raised slaves to an equality with their mas-  
 “ ters. If the *judaizers*, or any other persons, taught otherwise; they  
 “ did not regard the *true christian doctrine*; but loved contention: and,  
 “ from a covetous temper, fell in with the præjudices of their hearers.  
 “ Whereas; a good conscience, and a contented mind, are preferable to  
 “ all the injoyments of this world. But, covetousness will, in the end,  
 “ ruine false teachers. Do you, therefore, O *Timothy*, (sais he) avoid  
 “ such arts; and act with the sincerity, candor, and faithfulness, which  
 “ you have hitherto manifested. So will you approve yourself to your  
 “ judge, at his coming. Such *christians*, as were possessed of riches, were  
 “ to be put in mind of their obligations to be generous and beneficent;  
 “ that their riches might turn to the best account, and they themselves at  
 “ last obtain the inheritance of eternal life. And, finally, as full of the  
 “ grand subject of *the epistle*, the APOSTLE leaveth *Timothy*, with a caution  
 “ against the *judaizing christians*; chargeing him to mind his directions,  
 “ and to avoid their idle dreams. And then he concludeth, as usual;  
 “ THE FAVOR OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU. *Amen!*”



## C H A P. VII. S E C T. VII.

*St. PAUL goeth from Troas, to Macedonia, to meet with Titus. From thence he and Titus go to Greece. He now wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians. Acts xx. 2.*

WHILE St. PAUL was at *Troas*, a door was opened unto him of the LORD; *that is*, he had a prospect of succeſſe, in preaching the *gospel*, and of making ſeveral converts to *chriſtianity* there. But, becauſe *Titus* came not, as he expected, to give him an account of the ſtate of the *churches* in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; and, particularly, how the *church* of *Corinth* ſtood affected; and what reception his *former letter* had met with, among them: Miſſing, I ſay, of *Titus*, he had no reſt in his ſpirit. And, therefore, he did not ſtay long, to preach the *gospel*, in that city; but took his leave of the few converts, whom he had already brought over to *chriſtianity*. And then he ſet out, for *Macedonia*; as thinking that *Titus* might, probably, be gone thither, in queſt of him. [2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.] For, before he left *Ephesus*, he had talked of going to *Macedonia*. [1 Cor. xvi. 5,—8. Acts xx. 1.] But, when he came to *Macedonia*, and could hear nothing of *Titus*, he was ſtill more uneaſie; being afflicted on every ſide; his enemies tormenting him without, and his fears within. But that gracious GOD, who comforteth the dejected, did at laſt comfort him, by the arriveal of *Titus*. For he was not onely revived, at the ſight of his friend, and fellow-laborer in the *gospel*; but much more, with the account, which he brought him. For he could tell him of the flouriſhing ſtate of *chriſtianity* in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; and what good effects his *letter* had had, among the *Corinthians*; who had (moſt of them) repented of their patronizing the inceſtuous perſon, and of their other irregularities: and, particularly, that they remembered him, [their APOSTLE, and father in the *gospel*,] with affection, and would again be ſubject to his orders, and no longer hearken to the deluſions of the *false apoſtle*. This made him exceeſſing glad. For the ſucceſſe of the *true chriſtian doctrine* was all his glory, and his joy. [2 Cor. vii. 5, &c.] Having received liberal contributions, from the *gentile chriſtians*, in *Macedonia*, for

An. Chriſti

58.

Nero. 4.

Book III.

Ch. VII.

Sect. VII.

Acts xx.

2.



An. Christi the use of the *poor christians*, in *Judæa*; [2 Cor. viii. 1,—5.] and, <sup>58.</sup> haveing comforted the *Macedonians*, under all their dark prospects, Nero. 4. and exhorted them to virtue, patience, and perseverance;—St. PAUL, Book III. and his company, departed into *Greece*. This is the second time Ch. VII. that this industrious APOSTLE might say, “he had, by a miracu- Sect. VII. lous and divine power, preached the gospel of CHRIST; even Acts xx. 2. “from *Jerusalem*, round about unto *Illyricum*.” [Rom. xv. 19.] For *Macedonia* bordered upon *Illyricum*; the *Scardican mountains*, and the river *Drillo*, being the boundaries between them.

In *Macedonia*, St. PAUL wrote the *second epistle to the Corinthians*. [2 Cor. viii. 1,—14. and ix. 2.] Before the APOSTLE himself would go, in person, to *Corinth*, he sent *Titus* back, and several persons along with him. One of whom, I suppose, to have been St. LUKE; who was greatly esteemed and praised, through all the *christian churches*, for his zeal and diligence in *spreading the gospel*; and who was chosen, by the *churches*, to go along with the APOSTLE, as one of their messengers, to carry that great charity to *Jerusalem*. [2 Cor. viii. 6; 16; 18, 19.] There was, also, another person, whose fidelity and diligence, the APOSTLE saith, he had experienced, in many things; and that he was peculiarly active about this affair, from the good opinion, which he had conceived of the *Corinthians*, since the APOSTLE had wrote his *first letter* to them. [2 Cor. viii. 22.] I should have thought that this was *Timothy*, had he not joined, with the APOSTLE, in writeing the *second epistle* to the *Corinthians*. For it can hardly be supposed, that he should join in writeing a *letter*, of which he himself was appointed one of the *messengers*, to deliver it to the *Corinthians*. I, therefore, conjecture that it might be *Silas*. The design of sending these messengers, was, partly that they might carry along with them the *second epistle* to the *Corinthians*; but, chiefly, to hasten and finish the collection, among the *christians* at *Corinth*, for the use of the *poor christians* in *Judæa*. For St. PAUL had often boasted, in *Macedonia*, of the generous proposals of the *christians* in *Achaia*; and, thereby, incited the *Macedonians* to greater liberality. And, if the *churches* of *Achaia*, (among which, that of *Corinth* was the chief) had not been ready, when the *Macedonians* came thither, along with the APOSTLE; both the *Corinthians* and he would have had reason to have been ashamed; *they*, for their former generous proposals; and *he*, for commending them, so much; and animateing others, by their example. [2 Cor. viii. 6. and ix. 1,—5.] When St. PAUL sent these messengers; and, by them, his *second epistle* to the *Corinthians*; he



he intended to follow them, to *Corinth*, in a little time. And, as we shall hereafter find, he actually did so.

“ **S**T. PAUL had wrote his *first epistle* to the *Corinthians*, to try what au-  
 “ thority he had, in *that church*. [2 Cor. ii. 9.] There was, then, a  
 “ great *faction* against him; which he was attempting to break. And he  
 “ was in pain, ’till he found what successe he had. But, *Titus* haveing al-  
 “ ready brought him an account of the good effects of his *former letter*,  
 “ and that many had forsaken the *judaizer*, who had made the disturbance;  
 “ the APOSTLE, in *this letter*, speaketh of himself more freely; and dealeth  
 “ more sharply and roundly with his opposers, than he had done, in his *for-*  
 “ *mer epistle*. And it will be obvious, as we go through *the epistle*, that  
 “ the main businesse of it, was, to take the people intirely off from the  
 “ *false apostle*; and wholly to put an end to the *faction*, and disorders,  
 “ which he had caused, in the *christian church*, at *Corinth*. As his autho-  
 “ rity was still partly opposed; he begins again, PAUL, an APOSTLE of  
 “ JESUS CHRIST, *by the will of GOD*, &c. And he wrote, in his own name,  
 “ and in the name of his beloved *Timothy*; who, haveing settled affairs at  
 “ *Ephesus*, came from thence, and met the APOSTLE in *Macedonia*, in or-  
 “ der to go along with him to *Jerusalem*. For the APOSTLE had designed  
 “ to have gone directly from *Corinth* to *Jerusalem*. [2 Cor. i. 16.] And,  
 “ after his usual *introduction*, in which he wishes them all manner of blessing,  
 “ from GOD, and from the LORD JESUS CHRIST; he begins, with vindicate-  
 “ ing his own sincerity;—allegeing the many, and great sufferings, which  
 “ he had undergone; and takeing notice of the anxiety he was under, for  
 “ them, when he heard of their being seduced; and the joy of his mind,  
 “ to find them penitent; as proofs of his sincerity, and of his great affec-  
 “ tion for them. And assureth them, that his not going, in person, a-  
 “ mong them, a second time, was not out of fear, or levity of mind, as  
 “ his enemies might perhaps suggest; but that he, and his companions,  
 “ were steddy and uniform, in their doctrine and practice. And, that the  
 “ reason, why he had hitherto refrained comeing among them, was out of  
 “ tenderneffe and compassion for them; to give them an opportunity to re-  
 “ pent; and to take away all occasion of severity towards them. That,  
 “ for the very same reason, he had wrote, to them, with a troubled heart;  
 “ as takeing no pleasure in grieveing them, but as desireing to reclaim them;  
 “ that he might have comfort from them. He was now satisfied of the  
 “ sincerity of the incestuous person’s repentence. And, therefore, he re-  
 “ commendeth it to them, to take off the *church-censure*, and to comfort  
 “ the penitent; lest his sorrow should overwhelm him. And he letteth  
 “ them know, that, along with their forgiveing him, he also, in the per-  
 “ son of CHRIST, would forgive him. He points out his affection for  
 “ them, in the anxiety, which he had, when he did not meet with *Titus*,  
 “ at *Troas*, nor at his first comeing into *Macedonia*. But he thanketh GOD,

Written  
from  
Macedo-  
nia,  
An. Chri.  
58.  
Nero. 4.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. VII.  
Acts xx.  
2.  
Cb. I.

Ch. II.



Writen from Macedonia, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2. Ch. III. Ch. IV. Ch. V.

“ for the good news, which he received at last ; and (that, as he was the fa-  
 vor of life, or death, where-ever he came) he rejoiceth that he was to  
 them the favor of life. In the next place, he proceedeth to censure the  
*false apostle* ; by compareing his own conduct with that wicked person’s.  
 He did not make a gain of the *gospel* ; nor sophisticate it, to please men ;  
 nor commend himself ; nor procure *commendatory epistles* to the *Corinthi-  
 ans*, or from them. Though the *false apostle* had done all these things.  
 The *christian doctrine*, written in the hearts, and manifested in the holy  
 lives, of the *christians*, at *Corinth*, was St. PAUL’s *commendatory epistle* ;  
 which all their neighbors could read : an *epistle*, superior to that brought,  
 to them, by the *false apostle* ; and even superior to the *two tables of stone*,  
 on which GOD wrote the *ten commandments* ; and which he delivered to  
 Moses, as a testimony unto *Israel*. Not that St. PAUL could, of himself,  
 have either discovered the *gospel-doctrine*, or spread it so successfully in  
 the world. But he had *extraordinary illumination*, and *miraculous powers*.  
 And they were given him, not to spread the *law of Moses*, (which con-  
 demned offenders, without mercy ;) but the *gospel of CHRIST*, (which  
 offereth life to the penitent.) The *law of Moses*, though it carried such  
 terror in it, was glorious. But the *gospel* is much more glorious ; as ex-  
 hibiting so much mercy ; and as attested by greater *spiritual gifts*, and  
*miraculous powers*. The *law* was abolished ; the *gospel* is to indure till the  
 final consummation of all things. The *law* was obscure, and shadowy ;  
 so that the *jews*, who rejected *christianity*, understood it not. The *gospel*  
 is plane truth. And, therefore, should not have been veiled, and ob-  
 scured ; as it was, by the *false apostle*. However ; St. PAUL preached  
 it, in a clear manner, and without any veil. And (as he was extraordi-  
 narily assisted) he proceeded, without flagging in his work ; renouncing  
 all tricks, and dishonest craft, in preaching the *gospel* ; and laying it be-  
 fore the world, with such clearness and evidence, that it could not be  
 hid to any, but such as were resolved to continue in wickedness. For  
 he did not preach it, with a view to set up himself, but to advance *true  
 christianity*. And, though his person was mean, and infirm ; yet it was  
 the more evident, that a *divine power* resided upon him. A *power*, which  
 supported him under the greatest distress and persecution ; and made him  
 willing, either to live, or die, so as might best promote the spreading of  
 the *gospel* ! A *power*, so mighty, as to raise CHRIST from the dead ; and,  
 therefore, fully able to support him here, and make him happy for ever.  
 And, to that eternal state of happiness, he had the principal regard ;  
 or else he could never have done, and suffered, as he did. But he knew,  
 that, after the dropping of his terrestrial body, he should have a *cœlestial  
 one* superinduced. For which he most earnestly longed ; as satisfied that  
 that would, finally, be his portion. With that prospect, therefore, he  
 made it his constant care to approve himself to CHRIST ; as remember-  
 ing, that he should stand before his tribunal, and receive according to  
 what he had done in this life. And, knowing the terrible punishments,  
 which then will fall upon the wicked ; he persuaded others also to præ-  
 pare



"pare for that day. However; as that day was at a distance; he inti-  
 "mateth, that he could appeal, at present, to the consciences of the Co-  
 "rinthians; who could not but approve of his sincere behavior. Though  
 "he did not mention it, out of vane-glory; but to put something in their  
 "mouths, whereby to vindicate him, against the aspersions of his enemies.  
 "The extensive love, which CHRIST had manifested, constrained him to  
 "stand up, as he did, for the *gentile converts*. For CHRIST died for all;  
 "as the world, in general, was immersed in ignorance and wicked-  
 "ness. And he died (as he also lived) that men might forsake their  
 "sins, and live piously and virtuously. As, therefore, CHRIST died for all;  
 "gentiles, as well as *jews*; St. PAUL no longer distinguished a JEW from a  
 "GENTILE, with respect to the privileges of *christianity*. What, though  
 "CHRIST had been *circumcised*, and was of *jewish extraction*; that distinc-  
 "tion, of *circumcised* and *uncircumcised*, *jews* or *gentiles*, had no place in the  
 "*christian church*. But, if a *jew* had imbraced *christianity*; he was (like a  
 "*profelyte* from the *heathens*, to the *jewish religion*) created, and borne again.  
 "This was the appointment of GOD; who had also reconciled the *gentiles*  
 "to himself, or taken them into the *christian church*; and had committed  
 "this ministry of reconciliation to St. PAUL; who earnestly intreated the  
 "*christians* at *Corinth*, in the name, and as the ambassador, of CHRIST,  
 "to be reconciled unto GOD, and retain the *pure christian doctrine*. For that  
 "was the way to final acceptance with GOD, through JESUS CHRIST. As  
 "he was the *ambassador* of CHRIST, he begged of them to regard him;  
 "and not to receive *his gospel* in vane. For, though he manifested so much  
 "zele, he took care, as much as he could, not to offend any body; but  
 "to approve himself faithful to CHRIST. Which he had endeavored to  
 "do, at all times, and in all places, and circumstances; in prosperity, and  
 "adversity; in thought, word, and deed; by his own natural powers,  
 "and by his *extraordinary gifts*; in good report, and bad report; by life,  
 "or by death. In the midst of this warm and pathetic speech, he ex-  
 "presseth his affection for the *Corinthians*, in a lively and ardent manner.  
 "And proceedeth to advise them against marrying with *idolators*; lest they  
 "should ensnare them; and lead them back to their *idolatry*, and other  
 "vices.

"The *false apostle* seemeth to have charged St. PAUL with *false doctrine*,  
 "and *covetous designs*. But there was too much ground to retort the charge  
 "upon the author of it. And the APOSTLE hoped that the *Corinthians*  
 "would acquit him, and fix it where it was proper. As for himself, he  
 "had been very uneasy; 'till he had received, from Titus, an account of  
 "their repentance. And he was glad that his *first epistle* had affected them  
 "so much. Not that he took any pleasure in grieving them; but he re-  
 "joiced, as it had made the guilty to repent; and to throw off their re-  
 "gard for the *impostor*, who had deluded them. He could now repete his  
 "former glorying, in his *converts* at *Corinth*; when he considered what sa-  
 "tisfaction Titus had given him; and that they were again reduced to  
 "obedience.

"The

Written  
 from  
 Macedo-  
 nia,  
 An. Chri.  
 58.  
 Nero. 4.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VII.  
 Sect. VII.  
 Acts xx.  
 2.  
 Ch. VI.

Ch. VII.



Written

from

Macedo-

nia,

An. Chri.

58.

Nero. 4.

Book III.

Ch. VII.

Sect. VII.

Acts xx.

2.

Ch. VIII.

Ch. IX.

Ch. X.

“The next paragraph, in this epistle, is about an affair, in which St. PAUL was deeply concerned, at this time; *that is*, the making a collection, among the *gentile churches*, for the use of the *poor christians*, in *Judea*. And he exciteth the *Corinthians* to be liberal, upon this occasion, from the generous example of the *Macedonians*; who, in a time of persecution, and in narrow circumstances, had contributed considerably to that charitable design. And he letteth them know, that he had sent *Titus* before-hand, on purpose that they might be ready. And he hoped that they would abound in their liberality, upon this occasion; as they already abounded in the *gifts* of the *spirit*. Not that he commanded them to be liberal; but showed them, that it was agreeable to the example of CHRIST, who denied himself for the public good. And, as the *Corinthians* had promised great things, a year ago; and he had spoken of that, in *Macedonia*; he hoped, they would, every way, answer his good opinion of them. Not that he desired them to do all, and other *churches* nothing; but that they should give, in proportion to their ability. He chose to send *Titus*, to finish this affair; because he had a most tender concern for them. And, along with *Titus*, he sent two more; who were men of integrity, and had been of great service in spreading the *gospel*. One of them had been nominated, by the *churches*, to take care of that charity. And he doubted not, but they would all be acceptable persons; and that the *Corinthians* would be so generous, as, at the same time, to show their love to him; and, that he had not boasted of them, in other *churches*, without reason.—For some of the *Macedonians* were to come along with him to *Corinth*. And, if they should find the *Corinthians* had not done, as they had proposed, both the APOSTLE, and the *Corinthians*, would be put to shame. It was, therefore, highly proper to send those messengers, to *Corinth*, before-hand; to finish that collection: and to put them in mind, that, as they sowed here, so they might expect to reap hereafter; and, that the generosity of the *christians* at *Corinth*, would turn to the honor of GOD, and the credit of *christianity* in the world.

“Among other things, to disparage St. PAUL, the *false apostle* had insinuated, that, though *his letters* were well written, and had great force and eloquence in them; yet his bodily presence was mean, and his speech contemptible: and that he dared not to act, or speak, so boldly, when he was among them; as he did, when he writ to them. To which, the APOSTLE answereth, that he had *miraculous powers*; with which, if he was present, he could make such *professed christians*, as were the enemies of *true christianity*, tremble. And he intimateth, that, if the *false apostle* did not repent, he should experience this; when the *Corinthians* were reduced to obedience to the *true gospel-doctrine*. And that (notwithstanding his mean outward appearance) he was an APOSTLE of CHRIST; whatever his adversary was; and had *apostolic power*, to punish the disobedient; which he was unwilling to make use of, unless he was obliged to do so, by the wickedness of the *false apostle*. That he was the same man, present or absent; and propagated the same doctrine; whether he preach-

“ed



"ed in person, or wrote *epistles*. For, though he did not commend him-  
 "self, (till the aspersions cast upon him obliged him to it) as his enemy  
 "had done, without any just occasion; nor boasted of the fruits of other  
 "men's labors; but had generally chose to plant the *gospel*, where it had  
 "never been heard of; yet he was more truly praise-worthy, as having  
 "the divine approbation. And, as the clearest and strongest proof of his  
 "having the divine approbation, (after he had made an *apology* for the  
 "mentioning such things; as what was necessary to his own vindication,  
 "and to preserve *them* from being deluded) he intimateth, that he had  
 "communicated the *spirit* to them; and manifested himself, by *miraculous*  
 "powers, to come behind none of the APOSTLES. That he had planely  
 "shown how extensive *his knowledge* was; though *his speech* was not so elo-  
 "quent, as that of their new instructor. He had, indeed, preached the *gof-*  
 "pel, *gratis*, among them. But he insinuateth to them, if that was a fault,  
 "it was a fault which they might easily forgive. He had taken presents,  
 "from other churches, whilest he labored among them; and had avoided  
 "being burthenfome to them. But that was the strongest evidence of his  
 "affection, and tender concern, for them. And he would persist in this,  
 "that the *false apostle* might have no pretensions to burthen them, from his  
 "example. That *judaizer* might pretend to what sanctity he pleased, he  
 "was no true APOSTLE; any more than *satan* (under all his appearance of  
 "sanctity) can be accounted an *angel of light*. Again; he might pretend  
 "to great wisdom, and charge St. PAUL with folly. But it was easie to ob-  
 "serve, how unjust the charge was; and how much it belonged to the au-  
 "thor of it, who had fleeced the *Corinthians*; and had been guilty, not  
 "onely of folly, but of great wickednesse. For all the mighty pretensions  
 "of the *false apostle*, St. PAUL was as much a *jew*, by birth and education,  
 "as he; and more the APOSTLE of CHRIST; as he had manifested, by going  
 "through the most amazeing trials and sufferings; both by sea and by  
 "land; by day and by night; from within and from without; in cities  
 "and deserts; from professed friends, as well as open enemies: and all  
 "this, because of his industry to spread the *gospel*. Nay, more; these  
 "outward afflictions were accompanied with a daily anxiety for the wel-  
 "fare of all the christian churches; and a tender sympathy and concern for  
 "every particular christian in distresse.

"As his suffering so much, and for such a length of time and patience,  
 "was a proof of his sincerity; the following things were most manifest evi-  
 "dences of his having that extraordinary assistance, to which he pretend-  
 "ed. For, fourteen years before he wrote *this epistle*, he had been rapt  
 "up into heaven; had seen CHRIST in person; and had, by him, been  
 "instructed in the scheme of the christian doctrine. And (as they reproach-  
 "ed him with his mean bodily presence) he sheweth them, that his bodily  
 "disorder happened, in such a way, as that he had reason to glory in it.  
 "For, lest he should be unduely elevated, through the abundance of re-  
 "velations, then communicated to him; that *thorn in the flesh* was given  
 "him: — that malady, which afforded the *false apostle*, the messenger of  
 "satan,

Written  
 from  
 Macedo-  
 nia,  
 An. Chri.  
 58.  
 Nero. 4.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VII.  
 Sect. VII.  
 Acts xx.  
 2.  
 Ch. XI.

Ch. XII,



Written from Macedonia, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2.

“ *satan*, an opportunity to buffet, or insult, him. He had, indeed, pray-  
 “ ed earnestly, at first, that CHRIST would remove it, But he received  
 “ this answer from CHRIST, that his *supernatural gifts*, and *miraculous pow-*  
 “ *ers*, should be sufficient to overcome this, and all other difficulties. He,  
 “ therefore, gloried in that his *bodily disorder*; in as much as it made it  
 “ more evident, that the power of CHRIST rested upon him. His ene-  
 “ mies had compelled him to say all this of himself, against his own incli-  
 “ nation. For they had despised him, though he had given sufficient  
 “ proof of his being a *true APOSTLE*. He had not, indeed, claimed a  
 “ maintenance; as, by his *apostolic power*, he could have done. But that  
 “ was a proof of his *apostleship*, which he would never make use of, among  
 “ them. He left that to the *false apostle*. However; he would take as  
 “ much care of their souls, as if they had obliged him with the greatest  
 “ presents. And, as he himself had taken nothing of them; he farther  
 “ adds, that *Titus*, and such as he sent along with him, had avoided take-  
 “ ing any thing of them: not out of want of affection for them; but out  
 “ of kindnesse and good will, and for the advancement of the *gospel* a-  
 “ mong them. He was designing to make them another visit at *Corinth*;  
 “ but he was afraid, their factions and parties were not quite over; and that  
 “ some of them would still grieve him, by retaining the vices, in which  
 “ they had formerly lived. However; he giveth them fair warning, that,  
 “ if he found any of them incorrigible, he would not spare them. As they  
 “ wanted a proof of his haveing a *divine power*; the obstinate and impeni-  
 “ tent would find him able to give such a proof, as they would have cause  
 “ to repent. Though he begeth of GOD, that they might repent. For he  
 “ had much rather be thought to want such a *power*, than to have occa-  
 “ sion to exert it in so terrible a manner. For, if they retained the *true*  
 “ *christian doctrine*, and lived accordingly, he had no power to inflict any  
 “ *bodily disorders* upon them. And, therefore, he desired, much rather,  
 “ that they should hold the truth, and live virtuously; than that he should  
 “ be indued with *that extraordinary power*, which the LORD JESUS had com-  
 “ mitted to him; not for destruction, but for edification. For this purpose,  
 “ he wrote, to give them warning, whilest he was absent; that, when he came,  
 “ they might all be reformed, and prevent his makeing use of such a severe  
 “ method of correction. He concludeth, with recommending to them love  
 “ and unity; wishing them all, while they followed such right methods,  
 “ the favor of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, the love of GOD, and a participa-  
 “ tion of the *holy spirit*. *Amen!*”

Cl. XIII.



## C H A P. VII. S E C T. VIII.

*St. PAUL goeth, the second time, to Corinth. There writes his epistle to the Romans. The occasion, and subject, of that epistle. Acts xx. 3.*

FROM the other parts of Greece, St. PAUL, in a little time, followed his second letter, and the messengers, to Corinth. This was the second time, of his being, in person, at that city. His stay at Corinth, and in other parts of Greece, was now about three months. It hath been observed above, that he knew of the planting of a christian church at Rome. Possibly, some of the jews, and proselytes of righteousness, mentioned Acts ii. 10. had imbraced christianity; and, upon their return, first planted a christian church, at Rome. But, it is not likely that they preached the gospel to any gentiles. For St. PETER had not then received the first-fruits of the devout gentiles into the christian church. However; some of the christians had gone to Rome, and converted gentiles to christianity. And St. PAUL seemeth to have received an account of this, when he was first at Corinth, from Aquila and Priscilla; who were then banished from Rome, by a decree of Claudius Cæsar. Whether that decree affected the gentile christians, is not easie to determine. Though, if the christians, in general, were looked upon, as a sect of the jews; it must have affected them all. However; as that decree died with the emperor, who made it; the christians, as well as the jews, could then return to Rome. And, accordingly, we find that some of St. PAUL's relations were there; who had been converted to christianity before him: [Rom. xvi. 7.] that Aquila and Priscilla were returned thither: [Rom. xvi. 3.] and, that a great number of St. PAUL's acquaintance were gone to that imperial city. [Rom. xvi. 8, &c.] Very probably, they had converted some of the gentiles; or increased the number of gentile converts, very considerably. But, by the strain of the epistle, it appeareth that they were not altogether free from judaizing opposers; though they do not seem to have been, as yet, so violent, as in some other churches.

That St. PAUL wrote his epistle to the Romans, at this time, will appear, very planely, from his own words. For he saith, he had been makeing a collection, for the poor christians, in Jerusalem, a-



mong the churches of Macedonia and Achaia; and was designing to go to Jerusalem, with it, himself. [Rom. xv. 25, 26.] And, that he wrote from Corinth, will appear, from Rom. xvi. 23. where he sendeth salutations, from Erastus, the chamberlain of Corinth. For that was the city where Erastus lived. [2 Tim. iv. 20.] And from Caius, who lived at Corinth; [1 Cor. i. 14.] and whom St. PAUL hath called "his host, and the host of all the christian church there." [Rom. xvi. 23.] And from his recommending Phœbe to the christian church at Rome. For she was deaconesse of the church at Cenchræa, the eastern port, or haven, of Corinth. [Rom. xvi. 1.]

Written  
from  
Corinth,  
An. Chri.  
58.  
Nero. 4.

AS the gentile christians, at Rome, were in some danger of being subverted, by the judaizing christians, he was anxious for them; and wrote this epistle, very much with a view to prevent their being led away by such judaizers. Nor were his fears groundlesse; as the event plainly testified. For he found some violent judaizers, when he himself came, afterwards, in person, to Rome<sup>a</sup>. However; as he had not yet been at Rome: and, consequently, no opposition had been made to him there; he pitched upon a medium, in his introduction to this epistle; neither asserting his apostolic power and authority, in so high a tone, as in some other epistles; nor yet wholly omitting the mention of it: "PAUL, the servant of JESUS CHRIST, called to be an APOSTLE, separated unto the gospel of GOD." And, through the whole epistle, it may easily be observed, that he speaks in a more mild and condescending manner, than he generally doeth, in those epistles, which were written to the churches of his own planting; especially, if there had been any apostasie from him, and his doctrine. Then he puts on the air and tone of a master; reproveing, rebukeing, and exhorting, with all authority. Here, he was onely under some apprehensions, that the gentile christians, at Rome, might, possily, be led astray, by the doctrine of the judaizers. And, therefore, he cautions, and exhorts, them, rather in a friendly, than in an authoritative, manner; allegeing a variety of reasons, why the jewish christians ought not to impose such things upon them; and why the gentile converts ought not to submit to such impositions. In the epistles to the churches, where he himself had been in person, he rather supposeth, than repeteth, the general scheme of the christian doctrine. But, as he had never been at Rome; and, therefore, knew not what had been taught them, nor what progresse they had made, in christian knowlege; he saith much more, about the christian doctrine in general, that they might not continue without sufficient instructions.

"After intimateing that he was commissioned to be an APOSTLE of the gentiles, and wishing the christians, at Rome, all manner of blessing, from GOD, and the LORD JESUS CHRIST; he mentions it, to their honor, that their christianity was talked of, throughout the roman empire. He then intimateth,

<sup>a</sup> Phil. i. 13, &c. Which epistle to the Philippians was written from Rome.



" intimateth, that he had long desired to see them ; and often prayed to  
 " GOD, to grant him a prosperous journey to *Rome*. For, as he was APO-  
 " STLE of the gentiles, he thought himself obliged to go to them also ; in  
 " order, more particularly, to establish their faith, by communicating to  
 " them the gifts of the spirit. For, none but APOSTLES could do that ;  
 " and it doeth not appear that any APOSTLE had, as yet, been at *Rome*.  
 " However ; though he had been hitherto hindered from coming to them ;  
 " he letteth them know, that he was neither afraid, nor ashamed, to preach  
 " the gospel, even at *Rome* ; that polite and magnificent city. No ! The  
 " gospel was a wise institution, and pointed out the method of salvation,  
 " both to jews and gentiles ; which was by faith : such a faith, as produced  
 " virtue, or holiness. For the christian revelation doeth openly declare the  
 " wrath of GOD, against idolatry, and all manner of vice and wickedness.  
 " The heathens might, indeed, from the visible creation, have discovered  
 " the true GOD. But they (notwithstanding all their boasted knowledge)  
 " fell into the most grosse and absurd idolatry. Whereby they, in a great  
 " measure, obliterated the notions of good and evil. And, in consequence,  
 " relapsed into the most enormous and vile practices. GOD justly turning  
 " their sin into their punishment ; leaving them to the effects of their own  
 " blind and injudicious minds. For, though they had the light of nature,  
 " to discover to them the divine rectitude ; yet they did not sufficiently at-  
 " tend to the evil of sin, nor know that death was the wages of it. How-  
 " ever ; they were more candid than the wicked jews. For they did not  
 " censure such as lived in the same vicious courses, which they themselves  
 " pursued. Nay ; what aggravated this fault, in the jews, was, their  
 " greater light, and superior privileges ; which would, at the last, highly  
 " aggravate their condemnation. For GOD will be an impartial judge ;  
 " and will, finally, reward such as persevere in a course of virtue. But  
 " such, as reject the truth, when proposed with sufficient evidence, and  
 " practise unrighteousness, he will punish ; whether they have been jews,  
 " or gentiles. The wicked gentile shall be condemned by him ; and the  
 " wicked jew (who, though he hath had the law of Moses, hath not taken  
 " care to live according to it) shall not escape. On the contrary ; the vir-  
 " tuous gentile, who hath attended to the law of nature, written upon his  
 " heart, may expect to find favor with the righteous judge ; when he, who  
 " hath valued himself, for being of the race of the jews ; and piqued himself  
 " mightily, for his knowledge in the law of Moses, shall (because of his  
 " wickedness) find that circumcision did, of itself, signify nothing ; with-  
 " out an observation of the moral rectitude of the law : and, that the un-  
 " circumcised gentile ; who, by his reason discovered, and in his practice  
 " observed, the moral rectitude of the law, will be regarded, of GOD, as  
 " the true, spiritual jew ; and rewarded, in the future state, when the  
 " others shall be punished. Upon this, the jews would be very ready to  
 " ask, *What advantage they had, then, above the gentiles ?* To which, the  
 " APOSTLE answers ; They had many, and great, advantages. The chief  
 " of which, was, that they had the old testament revelation, to prepare  
 " them

Written  
 from  
 Corinth,  
 An. Chri.  
 58.  
 Nero. 4.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VII.  
 Sect. VIII  
 Acts xx.  
 3.  
 Chap. I.

Chap. II.



Written from Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3.

“ them for the reception of the *gospel*; and that several had, thereupon, been induced to imbrace *christianity*; though others, through wicked præjudices, had refused. However; he assures them, the *faithful* GOD would fulfil his promise to the *spiritual seed* of *Abraham*; consisting of the obedient, both among *jews* and *gentiles*; and would justify them, by his *free grace*, through faith in CHRIST JESUS. But, though it was undoubtedly great mercy, which GOD manifested, by the *gospel*, in his readinesse to save the worst of sinners, upon their repentance; yet it would have been the vilest abuse of the divine mercy, to have sined the more, with a pretence of thereby magnifying the grace of GOD the more. And they, who slanderously charged the APOSTLE, and his friends, with holding such *doctrines*, would finally fall under the just displeasure of GOD.

Chap. III.

“ The *jews* would, again, be ready to ask; *What then! are not we, jews, in a better condition than the gentiles?* Not at all; the APOSTLE replieth. For they had been, in proportion, as bad; considering that they had sined against greater light and privileges. There was a general corruption and depravation of manners among them. And the *law of Moses*, which they had broken, condemned them without mercy. But he withall telleth them, that there was a way, by which they might be justified, reveled, in the *gospel*. Which (though it was not by a conformity to the *law of Moses*) was attested to, both by the *law* and the *prophets*; and was to be attained, onely by a conformity to the *christian revelation*. By this method, both *jews* and *gentiles* might be justified, without difference or distinction. And there was the highest reason for all to attend to it; because of the universal spread of wickednesse; and of the guilt, which they had incurred; by which they were liable to fall under the divine condemnation. But, if they imbraced the *gospel*, and conformed to it, they had the strongest assurance of pardon, from GOD, through JESUS CHRIST. A favor, which they had not merited; but which would be freely bestowed, both upon *jews* and *gentiles*! This excluded all the boasting of the *jews*; in the *law of Moses*, and in their conformity to it. For GOD was now manifested to be the GOD of the *gentile*, as well as of the *jewish, christians*; and to justify both of them, in the same way; that is, by a conformity to the *gospel*. This was the method, whereby the *law of Moses* was established. For the design of *that law*, was, to præpare the *jews* for the *gospel*; and the moral part of it is adopted into the *christian law*.

Ch. IV.

“ In the next place, he goeth back farther, even to the *patriarchal state*; and sheweth, that *Abraham*, in whom, as their father, the nation of the *jews* so much gloried; even *he*, was not justified by *circumcision*; but before he was *circumcised*, and that, by such a *faith*, as produced obedience. And, if *Abraham* was justified, without *circumcision*, and the works of the *law of Moses*; the *gentile christians* might reasonably expect the like merciful treatment. For they were the *true spiritual seed* of *Abraham*, as well as the *jewish converts*; as long as they imitated *Abraham's* faith and obedience. The promise of the everlasting inheritance

“ was



“ was made, to *Abraham* himself, not upon the account of his observing  
 “ the *law of Moses*; but upon the account of his faith and obedience, long  
 “ before the *law* was given. And, by *his seed*, who were to inherit the bless-  
 “ ing with him, was not meant his natural descendents; or they, who  
 “ were under the *law of Moses*; but they, who had like faith and holiness,  
 “ whether *jews*, or *gentiles*. For he was to be the *great father of the faith-*  
 “ *ful*: and, in him, all nations were to be blessed. His faith appeared, in a  
 “ very particular manner, when GOD promised him *Isaac*. And in that,  
 “ (as well as in many other instances) he showed it to be a *rational trust* in  
 “ the power, wisdom, and goodness, of that GOD; of whose being and  
 “ perfections he was fully convinced; and whose miraculous, and extraor-  
 “ dinary, care and concern, he himself had already experienced abundan-  
 “ tly. Such was the temper of mind, which *Abraham* manifested. And  
 “ GOD was so highly pleased with it, as that he accounted it to him for  
 “ righteousness. And GOD’s accounting such a *faith* unto him, for right-  
 “ eousness, was left upon record; not onely out of respect to the memory  
 “ of *Abraham*, but to promote such a temper in *christians*; and to encourage  
 “ them to hope, that *their faith* will be, likewise, accounted to them for  
 “ righteousness, upon their believing the *christian revelation*, and conform-  
 “ ing to it.

“ The *jews* had boasted in *circumcision*; and in haveing the *law of Moses*. Chap. V.  
 “ For GOD was their GOD, and they gloried in being *his peculiar people*.  
 “ But, as the *gentile converts* were justified by the *gospel* method, they had  
 “ more reason to boast and triumph. For they had hopes of the glory of  
 “ GOD. They had the honor to suffer for *their religion*. And were sup-  
 “ ported, under those sufferings, by the *miraculous gifts* of the *spirit*; which  
 “ were the grand pledge of their being adopted, and in the divine favor.  
 “ CHRIST had died, to open the *kingdom of heaven* to them; when they  
 “ were wandering after *idolatry*, and many great vices. And, if GOD had  
 “ given his son, to die for them, when they were such a profligate race,  
 “ that they might be admitted into *his church* and *kingdom*, here upon earth;  
 “ how much more might it be expected, that he would deliver them from  
 “ *wrath*, and make them perfectly happy, at the last day; now, that they  
 “ had imbraced the *true religion*, and were ready to conform thereto? An-  
 “ other ground, which the *gentile* (as well as *jewish*) *christians* had for glo-  
 “ rying, was, that now the *true GOD* was their GOD; and they were recon-  
 “ ciled to the *true religion*. But the *unbelieving jews* had no just claim to  
 “ that honor; as they refused to submit to JESUS, whom GOD hath appoint-  
 “ ed LORD over all.

“ The APOSTLE had already refered them, first to the *law of Moses*; and  
 “ then to the *Abrahamic covenant*. But now, he goeth farther back; even  
 “ to the *fall of our first parents*; and presenteth them with a short view of  
 “ GOD’s dealing with mankind, through all ages, with reference to life and  
 “ death. By one man; that is, *Adam*, sin entered into the world; and  
 “ death by sin. For that was the penalty annexed to the offence, of eating  
 “ the

Written  
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 Corinth,  
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Written from Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3.

“ *the forbidden fruit*<sup>b</sup>. Thereby *Adam* himself was reduced to his natural state of mortality. And, in consequence, the descendents of that mortal man became likewise mortal : though they had not sinned after the similitude of *Adam*’s transgression ; *that is*, though they had not eaten the forbidden fruit ; or transgressed any particular law, to which *death* was annexed as a penalty. In the fall, *Adam* was the public head of mankind ; as *CHRIST*, the *second Adam*, is, in their redemption. And the benefits of *CHRIST*’s *death* will be as readily extended to all, as was the consequence of *Adam*’s fall. For, as, in *Adam*, all died ; so, in *CHRIST*, shall all be made alive. Nay ; herein the favor, received through the *second Adam*, exceeds the dimensions of the damage, occasioned by the lapse of the *first Adam*. For, though that one offence, of *Adam*’s eating the forbidden fruit, reduced all mankind to a state of mortality ; the favor of *GOD*, manifested by *CHRIST*, extendeth, notwithstanding many and repeated offences, to justification of life. Again ; herein the great goodness of *GOD*, in *CHRIST*, is remarkably manifested. For, though it was by that one offence, of *Adam*’s gratifying his appetite, in eating the forbidden fruit, that all came under the sentence of death ; yet it was not, without that one act of righteousness, the painful death of *CHRIST*, that they were again restored to life. And, the *gentile christians* had no occasion to submit to the law of *Moses*, in order to partake of the benefit of the *gospel* ; as he farther shows, by intimateing, that the law of *Moses* did not deliver the *jews* from a state of death. But, on the other hand, by it’s taking place over that one nation, the offences, to which death was annexed as a penalty, were increased among them. There was, therefore, much more favor manifested to the *jews*, by the *gospel*, than there had been, by the law ; because the *gospel* made them offers of life, upon their repentance ; notwithstanding the many sins, which they had committed<sup>c</sup> ; each of which, by the law of *Moses*, rendered them liable to death. As *St. PAUL* had said so much, about the mercy of *GOD* abounding

<sup>b</sup> Gen. ii. 17.

<sup>c</sup> I have been obliged here to enlarge, (as well as elsewhere ;) because an *abridgement* would have given no light to such obscure places. The *jews*, if they had obeyed the law of *Moses* perfectly, would have attained to life thereby. [*Lev. xviii. 5. Matt. xix. 17. Rom. vii. 10.*] But, if they disobeyed, in any instance, they were liable to death. [*Deut. xxvii. 26. and xxx. 19.*] They were, indeed, mortal, as well as other men ; as they descended from mortal *Adam*. But, by the law of *Moses*, (though it eventually increased the sins, to which death was annexed, as a penalty) they had three advantages. (1.) It restrained them from idolatry, and some other great vices, into which their heathen neighbors fell. (2.) They had a trial for life ; that is, if they had kept the law, (which was not naturally ; though, perhaps, it was morally, impossible) they would have escaped death. Which, without that covenant, was unavoidable to them, as well as to the rest of mankind. (3.) When they found themselves under a moral incapacity of attaining to life, by the law, they were led to regard it, as a severe tutor. Which might make them long for the coming of the *messiah* ; by whom they were to attain to life, in a more easie and merciful manner. *Gal. iii. 23, 24.* [See *Mr. Locke*, on *Rom. v. 20.*]



“ing most, where *sin* and *death* had most abounded; the *gentile converts* Written from  
 “might have been in danger of makeing the same wrong inference; (which Corinth,  
 “he had already obviated, in addresssing himself to the *jews*;) namely, An. Chri.  
 “*Let us then continue in sin, that grace may abound!* To which, the APOSTLE 58.  
 “replieth, with indignation at the thought, *God forbid!* And then he Nero. 4.  
 “proceedes to show, that their initiation into the *christian church*, by *bap-*  
 “*tism*, obliged them to the contrary. For, as by *baptism* they were figu- Book III.  
 “ratively buried with CHRIST, they ought to die unto sin; and, in confor- Ch. VII.  
 “mity to his resurrection, to rise again unto holiness of life. And, if Sect. VIII.  
 “they thus lived up to their profession, as *christians*; they might expect to Acts xx.  
 “be actually raised again from the dead; and to live with CHRIST, in glo- 3.  
 “ry and perfect happiness, for ever. The same thought he persueth far- Ch. VI.  
 “ther, by compareing *sin* and *righteousness* to two masters. To serve the  
 “*first*, is to live at present in constant bondage and slavery: and it’s wa-  
 “ges will, in the end, be nothing but *death*. But, to serve the *latter*, is  
 “*peace* and *liberty*, in the present world; and an eternal life of perfection  
 “and happiness, in a future world. Which, though it is not the proper  
 “wages of our imperfect righteousness; yet it is what GOD, out of his  
 “bounty, will bestow, upon all such as believe in CHRIST, and sincerely  
 “indeavor after righteousness.

He, in the next place, addresseth himself to the *jewish christians*; and Ch. VII.  
 “assureth them, that, by imbraceing *christianity*, they were as intirely freed  
 “from all obligation to the *law of Moses*, as a woman is freed from her  
 “husband, when he is dead. But they were still under obligations to live  
 “according to the *christian law*. And, to show the *jews* the necessity of  
 “leaveing the imperfect dispensation of the *law*, imbraceing the *gospel*, and  
 “adhereing to it alone; St. PAUL personateth an unbelieving *jew*; and  
 “pointeth out the unhappiness of his state, under the *law of Moses*. He,  
 “by sining against *that law*, was in a state of *death*. From which, he  
 “could not be delivered, but by the *grace of GOD*, manifested in *the gospel*.  
 “Not that *the law* allowed of any sin; but condemned the very desires and  
 “inclinations, as well as the outward acts, of sin. Nor was it the *law*,  
 “which brought *death*, upon those, who were under it; but it was *sin*,  
 “that first prevailed upon them to transgress the *law*; (which, in itself,  
 “was holy, just, and good.) And then, by the *power*, which it received,  
 “from the *law*, it brought *death* upon them. Such was the very malig-  
 “nant nature, and pernicious influence, of *sin*! And such the wickedness  
 “of the *unbelieving jew*, (whom the APOSTLE here personates) that he  
 “was in a carnal state, and the willing slave of sin; doing what his con-  
 “science condemned, and neglecting to do what he knew to be his duty;  
 “highly approveing, in his own mind, of the moral part of the *law of Mo-*  
 “*ses*; but, in his practice, breaking *that law*, by complying with his  
 “fleshly appetites, and liveing in sin and wickedness. But (as he knew that  
 “the *law of Moses* condemned every offender to *death*, without mercy,)  
 “he had reason to cry out, *Oh wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver*  
 “*me from the body of this death?* To which inquiry, the APOSTLE answers:  
 “*That*



Writen from Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3. Ch. VIII.

"That the grace of GOD<sup>d</sup>, through JESUS CHRIST, (or imbracing the gos-  
 pel, and liveing according to it) would deliver him. Though, 'till the un-  
 believeing jew took that method, he would continue to obey the lusts of  
 the flesh; in contradiction to the better dictates of his own mind, which  
 consented to, and approved of, the law of GOD.  
 Haveing already shown that the gentile christians, who were not sub-  
 ject to the law of Moses, were saved, merely by the gracious method pro-  
 posed in the gospel; which required that they should not indulge them-  
 selves in sin, but steddily and sincerely indeavor after perfect obedience;  
 and haveing likewise shown that the jewish converts, who had been under  
 the law of Moses, were saved, solely by the same gracious method; be-  
 cause the law condemned them, for every, the least, transgression, to  
 death, without mercy;—he now cometh to show, both jewish and gen-  
 tile christians, that they would be free from death and condemnation, if  
 they performed what christianity required of them; that is, not to live  
 after the flesh, but after the spirit; mortifying the deeds of the body, and  
 following the dictates of the spiritual part of their make, as guided and il-  
 luminated by the gospel. Otherwise, their profession of christianity would  
 answer no end; but onely aggravate their condemnation. Whereas; if  
 they lived pious and virtuous lives, he assureth them that they were the  
 sons of GOD; and representeth their haveing the spirit, as a proof, which  
 might satisfie them of their adoption; notwithstanding their past idolatry  
 and wickedness. From which consideration, he indeavoreth to arm  
 them with patience under afflictions; as they had such well-grounded  
 hopes of a glorious resurrection, and eternal happinesse. The new crea-  
 ture, that is, the christian, has been made subject to vanity, (liable to  
 frailty, and mortality,) as well as other men. But, the christian hopes  
 to be delivered from the bondage of corruption; and, by a resurrection  
 to complete and endlesse happinesse, to be brought into the glorious  
 liberty of the sons of GOD. And, not onely christians, in general, ear-  
 nestly wish, and look, for this happy change. But, even we, [APOSTLES  
 and prophets,] who have the first-fruits of the spirit, groan within our-  
 selves, expecting the fruit of our adoption; namely, the redemption of  
 our bodies. For, as many as had imbraced the call of the gospel, of what  
 nation, or family, soever; if they persevered in obeying the truth, he  
 intimateth, that GOD would never leave them, 'till he had put them in  
 the full possession of the inheritance of eternal life, with CHRIST, in glo-  
 ry: from which nothing should be able to exclude them; and to which,  
 all the sufferings of this life bear no manner of proportion.  
 From what St. PAUL had obscurely intimated already, and was farther  
 going to say, concerning GOD's casting off the unbelieveing jews, from be-  
 longing to his church and people; and joining the gentile converts with  
 the believeing jews, to partake equally of the privileges of the messiah's  
 kingdom;—he foresaw that the jews would be ready to say, that he was  
 præ-

<sup>d</sup> This is the reading of some of the best manuscripts and versions. [See Dr. Mill.]



" præjudiced against *his own nation* ; since he pretended to be the APOSTLE *Written*  
 " of the gentiles. He, therefore, begineth this *section*, with a very solemn *from*  
 " declaration of his concern and affection for the nation of the *jews* ; and *Corinth,*  
 " of his willingnesse to suffer those temporal judgements, which were *An. Chri.*  
 " comeing upon *his brethren* ; if he could have thereby prevented their de- *58.*  
 " struction. But he, likewise, procedeth to shew, that whatever privile- *Nero. 4.*  
 " ges the *jews* had injoyed, above other nations ; and whatever expectations *Book III.*  
 " the promises, made to their fore-fathers, might raise in them ; their un- *Ch. VII.*  
 " belief, and disobedience to the *gospel*, would cause them to be rejected. *Se&. VIII*  
 " Not that the *promise*, concerning the *spiritual seed* of *Abraham* being nu- *Acts xx.*  
 " merous, was thereby frustrated. For it was never designed, that the *3.*  
 " natural descendents of *Israel* should be the onely persons, who were to  
 " make up this chosen race. Much lesse all the natural descendents of  
 " *Abraham* himself. But the *children* of the *promise*, as *Isaac* was, are to  
 " be accounted *Abraham's seed* ; that is, all such as imitate his faith and  
 " obedience ; whether they be, or be not, his natural descendents. That  
 " GOD's casting off the nation of the *jews*, from being his peculiar people,  
 " under the *gospel*, was according to his usual conduct, may farther appear,  
 " in that all the descendents of *Isaac* were not equally favored with tempo-  
 " ral blessings, or spiritual privileges. For, before *Esau* and *Jacob* were  
 " borne, GOD had determined to bestow the land of *Canaan*, and many spi-  
 " ritual advantages, upon the descendents of *Jacob* ; and to put *Esau* so  
 " much behind him, as that, though he was the *elder brother*, his posterity  
 " were to serve those of his younger brother, *Jacob* ; and that his mountain  
 " and heritage should be laid waste ; while *Jacob's* posterity flourished. His  
 " granting more temporal privileges to one nation, than another, is, ac-  
 " cording to GOD's declaration, by *Moses*, that *he would show mercy, and*  
 " *grant such favors, as he himself judged most wise and proper.* For he, being  
 " infinite in wisdom, is, in all cases, the most competent judge. He had,  
 " formerly, suffered *Pharaoh* to go on, a long time, triumphantly, in his  
 " wickednesse. But, when that proud king *hardened* his heart, after the  
 " various means, which GOD had used to *soften* and subdue it ; GOD raised  
 " him up, and punished him with exemplary destruction ; as a terror to  
 " mankind, to warn them against like wickednesse, and hardnesse of heart.  
 " And thus might GOD justly cast off the *unbelieving jews*, from being his  
 " people ; as they hardened their hearts, after so many means had been, in  
 " vane, tried upon them, to reduce them to subjection to the *gospel* of  
 " CHRIST. And he might (on the other hand) take in the *believing gen-*  
 " *tiles*, who had not been his people, for many ages ; and grant them pe-  
 " culiar privileges ; as he had done, formerly, to the nation of the *jews*,  
 " when he depressed the *egyptians*. Nor doeth GOD's makeing such a dis-  
 " tinction, in the temporal blessings, which he distributeth among man-  
 " kind, afford any more ground for finding fault, or makeing objections to  
 " his proceedeings, than the clay could have against the potter's moulding it  
 " into this, or that, vessel. Because, none are to answer, in judgement, for  
 " any privileges, but what they have injoyed, in this state of trial. And  
 " they



Written from Corinth, An. Christi 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3. Ch. X. Ch. XI.

“ they will receive exactly, according to their improvement, or misim-  
 “ provement, of them. Another thing, which might reconcile the minds  
 “ of the *jewish converts* to the reception of the *gospel*, under the *gospel*,  
 “ was, that it was foretold, in their *antient prophets*. As was, also, the  
 “ rejection of the body of the *jewish nation*, for their unbelief and disobe-  
 “ dience. For the reason, why they were rejected, was, because they  
 “ would adhere to the *law of Moses*, after the coming of the *gospel*. Where-  
 “ as; several of the *gentiles* had imbraced the *gospel*; and, by that mean,  
 “ had entered into the right method of attaining to righteousness, and ac-  
 “ ceptance with GOD. But St. PAUL again intimateth, that, whenever he  
 “ spoke of the rejection of the body of the *jewish nation*, he did it with great  
 “ anxiety of heart; and earnestly prayed to GOD, that they might imbrace  
 “ the *gospel*, and be saved. For, they had a great zeal; but it was not ac-  
 “ cording to knowlege; as long as they sought justification by the *law of*  
 “ *Moses*, and refused the method, proposed in the *gospel*; to which, even  
 “ the *law* itself directed. For *Moses* declared, that none could attain to  
 “ *life*, by the *law*; unless they performed exact obedience to all things  
 “ contained in it. Whereas; the *gospel* is clear, and expresse, in this;  
 “ that, whosoever believeth it with his heart, professing it publicly, and  
 “ making conscience of practising accordingly; (though he attain not to  
 “ the temporal deliverance, which the *jews* expect, under the *messiah*;—  
 “ yet he) shall attain to *life* and happiness; whether he be *jew*, or *gentile*.  
 “ For the *gospel* maketh no difference between them. And, if the *gentiles*  
 “ were to be received into the number of the people of GOD, under the *mes-*  
 “ *siah*; it was necessary that St. PAUL, and others, should preach to them.  
 “ For they could not believe a *doctrine*, of which they never heard. And,  
 “ that they should be preached to, had been predicted; as well as that all  
 “ would not submit to the clear evidences proposed. In the next place, the  
 “ APOSTLE intimateth, that the reception of the *gentiles*, was to provoke  
 “ the *jews* to jealousy. Not that all the *jews* were rejected. For he him-  
 “ self was of that nation. And, in the days of *Elijah*, when *that prophet*  
 “ complained, that he alone was left of the worshipers of the *true GOD*, it  
 “ appeared, that there were seven thousand more. So, likewise, there  
 “ were more *jews*, who had imbraced the *gospel*, when St. PAUL wrote  
 “ *this epistle*, than one would have thought, upon a cursory observation.  
 “ And all these (if they persevered) might expect justification, upon the  
 “ merciful terms of the *gospel*. Instead of the *jews*, who refused to im-  
 “ brace the *gospel*, and who had wilfully shut their eyes against the light,  
 “ GOD chose, out of the *gentiles*, such as complied with the divine call;  
 “ and they were put into the way of obtaining justification, and happiness.  
 “ Not that the race of the *jews* will be utterly, and finally, rejected. No!  
 “ in the mean while, upon their rejection, many of the *gentiles* are (says he)  
 “ taken in. And there will come a time, when the *jews* will, again, be  
 “ taken into the *church* of GOD; and that, as an accomplishment of the  
 “ *promises*, made unto their *fathers*: when GOD will also mercifully add, to  
 “ them, the fulness of the *gentiles*. The APOSTLE, then, proceedeth to  
 “ caution



“ caution the *gentile converts* against despising the *jewish christians*; or abusing the privileges, which GOD had, under the *gospel*, granted them. *Written from Corinth, An. Chri. 58.*  
 “ For, if they despised others, and abused their own privileges, they must expect to be treated with justice and severity. And, finally, upon summing up those various dealings of GOD with the *jews* and *gentiles*, for a succession of ages; and his allowing them different blessings, and opportunities; he breaketh out, into a strain of praise and admiration, at the unsearchable wisdom and goodness of GOD, who is the sovereign disposer of all; and whose methods of providence cannot all be traced, by any finite understanding whatever. *Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3.*

“ Having finished the *doctrinal*, or *argumentative*, part of the *epistle*, he proceedeth to give them several *practical directions*; particularly suited to the city of *Rome*, and to the *christian church* there. In the first place, he dissuades them from indulging bodily lusts; and exhorts them, instead of falling into the vices of a wicked world, to live in purity, and obedience to GOD. In the next place, he cautions them against pride, and insolence; and exhorteth them, to look upon one another as members of the same body, who ought mutually to assist and serve one another: and, particularly, that such of them, as had *spiritual gifts*, should make use of them, so as might conduce to the general good. [For, though the late *converts* at *Rome* might, many of them, be destitute of such gifts; yet the *christians*, who had been banished from *Rome*, by *Claudius Caesar*, and had seen any of the *APOSTLES*, in their dispersions, were, most probably, partakers of the *spirit*. And so, likewise, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*; and such of the *christians*, as had gone from *Judæa*, or the neighboring countries, to *Rome*, since the death of *Claudius Caesar*. And it ought farther to be observed, that, as no *APOSTLE* had then been at *Rome*; nor, perhaps, any *superior prophet*; none but the *inferior gifts* of the *spirit* are here enumerated.] St. PAUL, in the next place, recommendeth mutual love to the *christians*; diligence in their lawful business; hope in GOD; liberality to the poor, and to such as travelled about preaching the *gospel*; meekness and benignity towards such as persecuted them: to rejoice with the happy, and to mourn with the afflicted; to be humble and lowly; free from malice, and a spirit of revenge; to return good for evil; and to win an enemy, by kindness, as most agreeable to the amiable *spirit* of *christianity*. *Ch. XII.*

“ The *APOSTLE* acquainted the *christians* at *Rome*, that *christianity* altereth nothing in men’s civil rights, or duties. Whatever they might lawfully enjoy, or were obliged to do, before they imbraced *christianity*; that they might still enjoy, or ought to do. And, therefore, they were to continue good subjects to their *governors*; not only out of fear of punishment, but from a principle of conscience, and out of a sense of their duty. For the power, which *magistrates* have from GOD, is merely to do good to the community; and to punish none but the wicked. The *christians*, therefore, were not only to pay taxes chearfully; but even to pay reverence, fear, and love, where-ever they were due: to abstain



Writen from Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3. Ch. XIV. Ch. XV.

“ from *idolatry*, murther, theft, false witnesse, and covetousnesse ; and to  
 “ do to every man, as, in like cases, they could reasonably desire others to  
 “ do to them. And this virtuous, excellent behavior, he recommend-  
 “ ed, from the following considerations ; *namely*, that the night of this  
 “ imperfect, afflicted, state of temptation and trial, was far spent ; and  
 “ the glorious day of salvation was at hand. They were, therefore, with-  
 “ out delay, to put off the works of their former *beathenish darknesse* ; that  
 “ is, drunkennesse, lasciviousnesse, and strife ; and to do such actions one-  
 “ ly, as would bear the *light*.  
 “ The *jewish christians* still retained a great regard to the *law of Moses*,  
 “ even in it's rituals ; and continued to distinguish between meats clean and  
 “ unclean, and between holy days, and common days. Nay ; and this,  
 “ their opinion, they would have imposed upon the *gentile converts* ; and  
 “ reduced them to a subjection to the *same laws*. On the other hand ; the  
 “ *gentile converts* laughed at the *jewish christians* ; and despised them, for  
 “ makeing such distinctions. The APOSTLE condemneth them both : the  
 “ *jewish christians*, for indeavoring to impose such things on the *gentile con-*  
 “ *verts*, or for censuring those who would not comply ; and the *gentile chris-*  
 “ *tians*, for thinking the worse of such *jewish converts*, as had not got over  
 “ their scruples. For, if they acted from a principle of conscience, they  
 “ were (both of them) accepted of GOD. But mutual censuring and con-  
 “ temning one another, was undoubtedly a great crime, and takeing the  
 “ work out of CHRIST's hands ; who will be *judge*, and determine right-  
 “ eously, concerning every case. The great thing required, on both sides,  
 “ was not to offend, nor cast stumbling-blocks in each other's way. Not  
 “ but that the *ceremonial law* was abolished ; and it was lawful for the *jew-*  
 “ *ish christians*, to eat of all sorts of wholesome meats, without distinction ;  
 “ provided they could get over their scruples. But, 'till then, it was more  
 “ becomeing the *gospel*, for the *gentile christians* to abstain from what was  
 “ lawful, in the presence of their *jewish* brethren ; lest they should give oc-  
 “ casion, to them, to entertain hard thoughts of them ; and so cause shy-  
 “ nesse and distance among them. Though all distinction of meats was ta-  
 “ ken away, by the *gospel* ; yet peace and charity were more strictly injoin-  
 “ ed than ever. The APOSTLE acknowleged, that the *gentile christian* had  
 “ *faith*, or a right persuasion concerning his christian liberty : and he ad-  
 “ vised him, by no means, to part with, or dissemble, it ; but, with re-  
 “ spect to himself, or his own conscience, to hold it fast, as in the sight of  
 “ GOD. But he was, also, to consider that such, as had not that faith,  
 “ would be condemned, if they eat of all sorts of meats, indifferently ;  
 “ and acted contrary to the persuasion of their own minds. He, farther,  
 “ exhorts the wiser, and more knowing, to bear with the infirmities of the  
 “ weak and scrupulous ; and (in imitation of the example of CHRIST) not  
 “ to study how to please themselves, but to promote the common good.  
 “ Which he earnestly prays to GOD they might all do. He acknowleges,  
 “ to the *jewish christians*, that CHRIST himself preached only to their na-  
 “ tion. But then he, all along, designed that (agreeably to the *antient*  
 “ *pro-*



“ *prophecies*) the *gentiles* should, in due time, be called into the *church*; and  
 “ he hoped that the *gentile* (as well as *jewish*) *christians*, at *Rome*, would  
 “ have the pleasure and satisfaction, which would naturally flow from the  
 “ consideration of such a favor; and that they would behave agreeably to  
 “ the rules of the *christian institution*. And, then, he maketh a sort of an  
 “ apologie for the liberty, which he had taken, in saying so much to them.  
 “ But intimateth, withall, that CHRIST had made him APOSTLE of the *gen-*  
 “ *tiles*; which gave weight and authority to what he said. Not that  
 “ he boasted of what he had never done. For he had planted *christian*  
 “ *churches*, by a *miraculous* and *supernatural assistance*, from *Jerusalem*, round  
 “ about, unto *Illyricum*; and that, in places, where no *christians* had been  
 “ before him, to lay any foundation. And, haveing done so much, in  
 “ other *churches*, he was now designing to go to *Rome*, in his way to *Spain*.  
 “ For it was what he had desired to do, a long time. In the mean while,  
 “ he was to go to *Jerusalem*, to carry a large *charitable contribution*, raised,  
 “ by the *churches* of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, for the use of the *poor christians*  
 “ at *Jerusalem*. Which was a sort of a grateful return, for their receive-  
 “ ing the *gospel* from thence. When this affair was finished, he would  
 “ halten to *Rome*; and, among other things, he would impart unto them,  
 “ plentifully, of the *gifts* of the *spirit*. In the mean time, he begged their  
 “ prayers: particularly, that he might be delivered from the *unbelieving*  
 “ *jews*, who had often sought his life; and that (haveing successfully ma-  
 “ naged the present affairs) he might have a prosperous journey to *Rome*;  
 “ and see them, to his great comfort and satisfaction.  
 “ The APOSTLE recommendeth *Phæbe*, the *deaconesse* of the *christian*  
 “ *church* at *Cenchrea*, to their kind treatment. He saluteth his affectionate  
 “ friends, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*; who were now returned to *Rome*, and had  
 “ a *church* in their house. Which *church* the APOSTLE also saluteth. Be-  
 “ sides many others, he saluteth two; that is, *Andronicus* and *Junias*; who  
 “ were his own *relations*, and who had been *christians* before him; and once  
 “ imprisoned, along with him, for spreading the *christian religion*: who  
 “ were, also, men highly esteemed, by the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*.  
 “ He, likewise, saluteth *Hermas*; who is reckoned to have been author of  
 “ a *book*, still extant; which is called the *pastor*, or *shepherd*. The other  
 “ persons saluted, are no way famous, at this day. And, therefore, the  
 “ particular mention of them is omitted.  
 “ But it is fit to take notice of the expresse caution, which he giveth  
 “ them, against paying any regard to the *immoral judaizers*; who often  
 “ made divisions in *churches*, as well as propagated *false doctrines*, and sub-  
 “ verted the weak and unwary.  
 “ He sendeth salutations, from *Timothy*; from *Erastus*, the *chamberlain*  
 “ of the city of *Corinth*; and from several others: particularly, from  
 “ *Caius*; whom he calleth *his host*, and the *host* of the *whole church*. The  
 “ same person, I suppose, to whom St. JOHN wrote *his third epistle*. And,  
 “ after he had, as it were, concluded, with wishing them the favor of OUR  
 “ LORD JESUS CHRIST; he broke out again, with recommending them to  
 “ GOD;

Written  
 from  
 Corinth,  
 An. Chri.  
 58.  
 Nero. 4.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VII.  
 Sect. VIII.  
 Acts xx.

Ch. XVI.



Written  
from

Corinth,  
An. Christ.

58.

Nero. 4.

Book III.  
Ch. VII.

Sect. VIII

Acts xx.

3.

"GOD; who was able to guard them against the *judaizers*, and to preserve them in the *true gospel-doctrine*, which he preached. And, in hopes that GOD would do so, the APOSTLE ascribes to him eternal glory, through JESUS CHRIST. *Amen!*"

It is probable, from *Rom. xvi. 22.* that *Silas* was the APOSTLE's amanuensis, in transcribing this epistle; and that he latinized his name, in writing to the *Romans*. For *Silas* signifieth the same, in *hebrew*, as *Tertius* doeth in *latin*; [that is, *the third.*]

This epistle to the *Romans*, was written just before the APOSTLE left *Corinth*; and was sent, to *Rome*, by the hands of *Phæbe*, who was *deaconesse* of the *christian church* at *Cenchrea*; the port, or haven, on the east-side of *Corinth*.

## C H A P. VII. S E C T. IX.

*St. PAUL, with the messengers of the churches, set out, from Corinth, to go to Jerusalem. They came to Troas; and there the APOSTLE raised Eutychus from the dead. Acts xx. 3,—12.*

ST. PAUL's first intention was to have sailed, from *Achaia*, directly, to some port in *Syria*; and so to have gone the highest way to *Jerusalem*. But, when he understood that some of the *unbelieving jews* had got notice of his design; and intended to way-lay him, and to take the money from him; and, very probably, to murder him too; he altered his purpose, and resolved to return, by the way he came<sup>a</sup>; namely, through *Greece* and *Macedonia*. He had now finished the collection; and was upon the road, with his company, to carry it to *Jerusalem*. From the other parts of *Macedonia*, the APOSTLE went to *Philippi*. Where he had been before, and had converted *Lydia*, at the *proseucha*; dispossessed the *pythonesse*; and converted the *jaylor*, and his family. Here, St. LUKE was with him,

Ver. 3.<sup>a</sup> *Beza* mentions one manuscript, which intimates, that this resolution was taken, in consequence of an impulse of the spirit. Which reading seems to be confirmed, from ver. 22.



him, again. For he speaketh of himself, as one of the company; which he hath not done, in any part of the *history*, since the APOSTLE's first coming to *Philippi*. I suppose, St. LUKE had been travelling, up and down, among the *churches*, to promote *christianity*, as much as he could, according to the directions of St. PAUL. And, being now appointed; very probably, by all the *churches* of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, (as the APOSTLE himself was) he went as one of the *messengers*, to carry the *collection* to *Jerusalem*<sup>b</sup>. And he either came to *Philippi*, along with the APOSTLE; or met him, by appointment, there. In that *roman colony*, the APOSTLE tarried, during the *passover-week*; (strengthening and establishing the *christians*, in the faith and practice of *christianity*;) For he would not offend the *jews*, and *jewish christians*, so much, as to travel that week; which they accounted so peculiarly holy. The rest of his company were gone before, to *Troas*; where they waited for the coming up of the APOSTLE, and of St. LUKE. They were the *messengers* of the several *churches* of *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; chosen, by them, to go, along with St. PAUL, with the great and charitable *collection*, which they had raised<sup>c</sup>. For St. PAUL would not, of himself, take the charge of so great a sum; that he might give no ground for suspecting that he imbezled any part of it, to his own private use: taking care, not onely to be, but also to appear, honest, in the sight of GOD and man<sup>d</sup>. The *messengers* of the *churches*, for this service, were, *Sopater* [or *Sospater*] of *Berea*, or the *Berean messenger*. He was a relation of St. PAUL's<sup>e</sup>; and, according to the reading of several *antient manuscripts* and *versions*, he was the son of *Pyrrhus*, or *Rufus*<sup>f</sup>; that is, very probably, the *Rufus*, [mentioned *Mark* xv. 21.] who was son to *Simon* the *Cyrenæan*, whom they compelled to bear the cross, after OUR LORD, as he went up *mount Calvary*, to his crucifixion. For, it is highly probable, that *Simon*, the *Cyrenæan*, was a *christian*; whom they forced to that ungrateful service; and that his sons, *Alexander* and *Rufus*, were eminent, and well-known, in the *christian church*, when St. MARK wrote his *gospel*, and spoke of them; which was some years after this time. Of the *Thessalonians*, there were *Aristarchus* and *Secundus*; and *Caius*, of *Derbe*; of whom mention has been made already; and *Timothy*. The *Ephesians*<sup>g</sup>, or *Asians*, were *Tychicus* and *Trophimus*. These, going before, tarried for St. PAUL, and St. Luke, at *Troas*. *Silas* seemeth to have tarried in

<sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19.Ver. 4. <sup>c</sup> Rom. xvi. 21.<sup>e</sup> 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4.<sup>f</sup> See Dr. Mill.<sup>d</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 19, 20, 21.<sup>g</sup> See the reading of the *Cambridge* Ms. in Dr. Mill.



An. Chri. in Greece, to take care of the churches there ; and, particularly, that  
 58. of Corinth. After the passover-week, St. PAUL and St. LUKE left  
 Nero. 4. Philippi ; and, sailing down the river Strymon, and over part of the  
 Book III. Ægean sea, they arrived in five days, at Troas ; where they conti-  
 Ch. VII. nued seven days. And, upon the first day of the week, (the day, on  
 Sect. IX. which OUR LORD arose from the dead ; and which the APOSTLES,  
 Acts xx. and primitive christians, did usually observe, by assembling together,  
 6, &c. for religious worship ; and, particularly, for celebrating the lord's sup-  
 per :—Upon the first day of the week, I say,) the christians, at Troas,  
 met together, to commemorate the death of CHRIST, by breaking  
 of bread, and drinking of wine. And St. PAUL (who had come thi-  
 ther the monday before, and waited all that time, to assemble, with  
 the christians, on their stated day) did not fail to be present, when  
 they met together. And, then, he discoursed with them, a long  
 time, about the christian doctrine. For, he designed to take his leave  
 of the place, the next day. Being, therefore, very desirous to con-  
 firm and establish them ; (as not knowing, whether he should ever  
 have another opportunity to speak to them) though the night drew on ;  
 he continued his discourse. Nay ; when they had lighted the upper  
 room, where the assembly was held, with several lamps, he pro-  
 tracted his discourse 'till midnight. Among his hearers, there sat, in  
 an open window, a young man, named Eutychus. And, as the A-  
 POSTLE continued to speak so very long, he fell into a profound sleep.  
 And, in his sleep, he fell, down to the ground, from the third story ;  
 and was killed with the fall. The APOSTLE, who was always ready  
 to procede, from the most excellent discourses, to the most benefi-  
 cent actions, broke off his discourse, upon so remarkable an accident.  
 And, going down the stairs, he fell upon the corpse, and imbraced  
 the young man ; (as the prophet *Elijah* did, when he raised the wi-  
 dow of *Sarepta's* son ; or as *Elisha*, upon whom rested a double  
 portion of the spirit of *Elijah*, did, when he raised the son of the  
 good *Shunamite*. After the same manner, acted by the same spirit ;  
 and, very probably, in imitation of those two antient prophets, St.  
 PAUL stretched himself upon Eutychus ;) begging of his friends not to  
 grieve for him ; for he should presently be restored to life again, as  
 if he had onely waked out of a deep sleep<sup>h</sup>. And, accordingly, the  
 APOSTLE did, immediately, and, in a miraculous manner, raise him  
 to life again. And, returning to the upper room, they carried, along  
 with them, the young man, alive, and well. Which was no small  
 matter of joy ; especially to his relations. After this accident, and  
 miracle,

Ver. 10. <sup>h</sup> See Matt. ix. 24. John xi. 4 ; II, — 14.



*miracle*, the assembly composed themselves. And, when the APOSTLE had taken some refreshment, he began again; and talked with them, about the great *doctrines of christianity*, 'till the morning; and then he took his leave of *that church*.

C H A P. VII. S E C T. X.

*The APOSTLE, with his company, went to Miletus; sent for the bishops of Ephesus, and made a fine oration to them. Acts xx. 13, to the end of that chapter.*

ST. PAUL being disposed to go by land, walked a-foot to *Affos*, a city of *Æolis*, or *Mysia*; designing (perhaps) to call upon some of the *christians*, by the way. But his company took ship, and sailed to *Affos*; where the APOSTLE had ordered them to meet him. And, when they had taken him aboard, they sailed, from *Affos*, to *Mitylene*, the chief city of the island *Lesbos*; famous for the birth of *Pittacus*, one of the *seven wise men* of *Greece*; *Alcylus*, the *lyric poet*; and *Sappho*, the *poetesse*. The next day, they came over against *Chios*; the island, which was so celebrated for the *Chian wine*. And, in another day, they arrived at *Samos*, an island in the *Icarian sea*; famous for the birth of *Pythagoras*, and the residence of *Polycrates*, the tyrant. After that, they passed by *Trogyllium*<sup>a</sup>; a promontory of *Mycæ*, a mountain in *Ionis*, upon the coasts of the *proconsular Asia*, over against *Samos*. And, after that, in one day more, they arrived at *Miletus*; a considerable city in the southern part of *Caria*<sup>b</sup>, of the *Ionians*: of which the old *philosopher*, *Thales*, was a native. St. PAUL, being straitened for time; because he had resolved, if possible, to be at *Jerusalem*, at the approaching feast of *pentecost*; as thinking, very probably, to meet with more *christians* there, at that time, to dis-

An. Christ:  
58.  
Nero. 4.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. X.  
Acts xx.  
13, &c.

VOL. II.

E e

tribute

Ver. 15. <sup>a</sup> Several antient mss. versions, and fathers, leave out this sentence. [See Dr. Mill.] If the *proper name* be retained, I think we ought to understand that they were becalmed in the sea, over against that place. For *Trogyllium* was not a town, but a promontory.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. l. i. p. 91. edit. Gale.



An. Christ. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. X. Acts xx. 16, &c. tribute the charity with more advantage; and, (perhaps) to worship, at that feast, in the *temple*, to take away the *obloquy* of the *jews*, and zealous *jewish christians*:—Being straitened, I say, for time; he could not, conveniently, go to *Ephesus*. And, therefore, he determined upon sailing by that city; lest he should be obliged to spend more time, in *Asia*, than his circumstances would then allow. He therefore sent, and desired that such of the *elders* of the *church* of *Ephesus*, as were ordained to be *bishops*, would come to him, at *Miletus*; (about fifty miles south of *Ephesus*;) that he might give them some farther instructions, concerning the *gospel-doctrine*, and their own behavior in the *christian church*. Very likely, he had received such an account, from *Timothy*, of the state of *that church*, as rendered it highly proper, for him, to see, and to caution, the *bishops* of that city, to be watchful and diligent; especially against *false apostles*, and *judaizing christians*. When they came, the APOSTLE received them with pleasure. And, like the father of the *gentile churches*, he addressed them, in the following, noble, and affectionate, speech. “My dearly beloved *christian brethren*: You yourselves “know, very well, that, from the first day of my coming into the “*proconsular Asia*, in what manner I have behaved myself; and “how constantly I have been with you, in all seasons and circumstances: serving the LORD, in the work of the *gospel*, with all modesty and humility; and with many tears, and great trials and discouragements; which happened to me, chiefly from the malice “and treachery of mine own countrymen, the *jews*. They have, “indeed, indefatigably labored to make me preach up the necessity of “*circumcision* to the *gentile converts*. And, when I steddily refused, “they have endeavored, all they could, to distress and hinder me. “And yet, notwithstanding this, I have kept back no part of *christian knowledge*, which was expedient for you: but have faithfully laid “before you the pure, unmixed, *christian doctrine*; and have taught “you, publicly, and from house to house; testifying, both to the “*jews*, and to the *gentiles*, the necessity of turning from *idolatry*, and “all other vices, unto the *true GOD*; and of believing in OUR LORD “JESUS CHRIST, or embracing *that religion*, which he first preached, himself; and, afterwards, by his APOSTLES. And now, behold, I am going to *Jerusalem*; whither the *spirit* directs, and “obliges, me to go. But, what will befall me there, I know not. “Onely this, the *holy spirit*, by the mouth of the *christian prophets*, “testifieth, in almost every city, through which I pass; namely, “that

Ver. 18. <sup>b</sup> See some of the manuscripts in Dr. Mill.



“ that bonds, and other afflictions, await for me. But no prospect  
 “ of persecution moves me; neither do I account my life itself, (the  
 “ last, the dearest, comfort upon earth,) of any moment, in com-  
 “ parison of finishing my course with joy, and faithfully dischargeing  
 “ the *apostolic office*, committed to me, by the LORD JESUS; which  
 “ is the proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, to all mankind,  
 “ upon their repentance, faith, and future obedience. And now, be-  
 “ hold, I know very well, that none of you all, among whom I  
 “ have travelled these parts, preaching *the kingdom of GOD*, shall see  
 “ my face any more. Wherefore; I take you to record, this day,  
 “ that I am pure from the blood of you all. If any of you finally  
 “ perish, you must acknowledge, that you have been faithfully warn-  
 “ ed. And, therefore, the blood of your souls will be required at  
 “ your own hands. For I have not shunned, faithfully, to declare  
 “ unto you the whole counsel of GOD. Take care, I beseech you,  
 “ of your own conduct: that you may bring no disgrace upon *chris-*  
 “ *tianity*; but may be examples to others, and an honor to your  
 “ profession. And watch diligently (as I have done) over all the  
 “ flock, over which the *holy spirit* hath directed us to constitute you  
 “ *pastors*, or *bishops*: feeding, with the wholesome food of the *true*  
 “ *gospel-doctrine*, the *church* of the LORD JESUS CHRIST; which he  
 “ has purchased with his own blood<sup>d</sup>. This I presse the more earn-  
 “ estly upon you; because, from what has already happened in part,  
 “ as well as from the *spirit of prophecie*, I know, that, after I have  
 “ left you, grievous wolves will enter in among you; not spareing  
 “ the flock, committed to your care. And, even from among your  
 “ own selves, there will men arise, who will utter perverse things,  
 “ and broach pernicious errors, to draw away disciples after them.  
 “ Be you, therefore, the more upon your guard. And remember,  
 E e 2 “ how

An. Christ.  
58.  
Nero. 4.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. X.  
Acts xx.  
23, &c.

Ver. 28. <sup>c</sup> See vol. I. p. 48, — 68.

<sup>d</sup> See the readings of several manuscripts, versions, and fathers, mentioned by Dr. Mill. Some of which read, *Kυρις*, LORD; others, *Kυρις υἱ Θεου*, LORD and GOD. Some again read *Θεός*, GOD; and others *Χριστός*, CHRIST. But it is not very material, which of them we follow. For JESUS (who purchased the church with his own blood) is, by his father, constituted, both CHRIST, and LORD, or GOD.

“ There is nothing more ordinary, in the antient greek [MSS. or] copies, than the interchangeing of these three words, *Θεός*, GOD; *Kυρις*, LORD; *Χριστός*, CHRIST; because they are there written, by way of contraction, thus, *ΘΥ*, *ΚΥ*, *ΧΥ*. which gave occasion to the transcribers to put one, frequently, for the other.” [F. Simon's critical history of the text of the new testament, part 2. p. 152, 153.]

The best and most antient copies read this text, and the most antient fathers cite it, [The church of the lord.] See Dr. Clarke's commentary upon forty select texts, p. 127.



An. Christ. " how long I have labored, and what pains I have taken, among you ;  
 58. " (too much, to be all lost and ineffectual!) For, for about the  
 Nero. 4. " space of three years ; reckoning from my first coming to *Ephesus*,  
 Book III. " to this my last, and solemn, farewel ; I have, (as opportunity  
 Ch. VII. " served) incessantly, night and day, admonished every one of you,  
 Sect. X. " with tears, to adhere to the *true christian doctrine*, and to live ho-  
 Acts xx. " ly and exemplary lives. And now, brethren, haveing labored so  
 31, ad fin. " long among you, and warned you so faithfully, I commend you  
 " to GOD, and to his favor, reveled in the *gospel* : which *gospel* (if  
 " carefully attended to) is fully able, of itself, without any mixture  
 " or addition, to build you up, in truth and virtue ; and to assure  
 " you, that, at last, you will obtain the inheritance of eternal life,  
 " among all holy and righteous persons. To bring you into the  
 " way to attain that perfect happinesse ; and to set the ministers  
 " of CHRIST an example, how they ought to behave, hath been  
 " my great aim, and constant care. For I have coveted no  
 " man's silver, or gold, or apparel." And (holding out both his  
 hands) he added : " You yourselves know, that these very hands of  
 " mine have often labored, to provide bread for myself, and for my  
 " companions. By my example, and by my doctrine, I have in-  
 " structed you not to be idle ; but to labor, and be diligent : that you  
 " may not be suspected of covetousnesse, or want the necessaries of  
 " life ; but, that you may live in credit, and may have something to  
 " bestow upon the sick and indigent. And, as a persuasive argu-  
 " ment, remember that excellent sentence, which was a favorite say-  
 " ing of OUR LORD's, and frequently in his mouth ; *It is more bless-*  
 " *ed to give, than to receive.*"

When St. PAUL had finished *his speech*, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all, before they parted. When he had done praying, they broke out into a flood of tears ; (*as, indeed, who could have refrained!*) and fell upon the APOSTLE's neck ; hanging about him, and kissing him, with the utmost concern, and in the most tender and affectionate manner ; sorrowing, chiefly, because he had assured them, *that they should see his face no more*. And they accompanied him to the ship. And there they saw their last of their *father in the gospel* ; who had manifested so parental a concern for them.



## C H A P. VII. S E C T. XI.

St. PAUL, and his company, sailed by divers places. They came, at last, to Cæsarea : where they were entertained, at the house of Philip, the deacon and evangelist. From thence, they went up to Jerusalem. Acts xxi. 1,—16.

HAVEING parted with the bishops of Ephesus, in so tender and reluctant a manner; the APOSTLE, and his company, sailed with a prosperous gale to *Cous*, or *Cos*; which was famous, among the islands called the *Cyclades*, for the worship of *Æsculapius*, and the temple of *Juno*. There, also, *Hippocrates*, the prince of physicians, and *Apelles*, the celebrated painter, were borne. The next day, they sailed to the island *Rhodes*; famous for the worship of the *sun*, and the huge brazen *Colossus*, erected there, which was reckoned one of the *seven wonders of the world*. It was in the shape of a man, an hundred and five feet high; and was surrounded by an hundred of a lesser sort<sup>a</sup>. From thence, they sailed to *Patara*, the chief city and port of *Lycia*. And, finding there a ship bound for *Phœnicia*, they went aboard. And, sailing within view of the island *Cyprus*, they passed by it, on the south-side; making directly for *Syria*. At last, they landed at *Tyre*; the metropolis of *Phœnicia*, and the famous mart of the east<sup>b</sup>. For there the ship was to unload. Finding some christians at *Tyre*, they tarried there seven days. And some of them being prophets; they, by an impulse of the spirit, foresaw the danger, to which St. PAUL would be exposed, at *Jerusalem*; and would, for that reason, have dissuaded him from going thither. But, when God had ordered him to go, he was of too brave a spirit, to decline his duty, upon any prospect, however threatening. At the end, therefore, of seven days, the APOSTLE, and his attendants, set out again; the

Ver. 1. <sup>a</sup> See *Saunders* his travels, p. 70, &c. 6th edit. folio. *Prideaux* his connection, &c. vol. 2. p. 94, &c.

Ver. 3. <sup>b</sup> It is now inhabited, onely by a few poor fishermen. Whereby *Ezek.* xxvi. 14. is remarkably accomplished. [See *Maundrell's travels*, fourth edit. p. 49.]

An. Christ.  
58.  
Nero. 4.  
Book III.  
Ch. VII.  
Sect. XI.  
Acts xxi.  
1, &c.



An. Christ. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. XI. Acts xxi. 5, &c. the *Tyrian christians*, with their wives and children, accompanying them out of the city. And they all kneeled down, and prayed together, upon the sea-shore; according to a common custom of the *jews*, in that age<sup>c</sup>. And, when they had taken leave of one another, the *Tyrians* returned home. And St. PAUL, and his company, took ship, and sailed to *Ptolemais*; which was formerly called *Aco*, or *Ace*<sup>d</sup>. And, having paid their respects to the few *christians*, whom they found at *Ptolemais*, and tarried one day with them, they set out again. But, as they had now finished their voyage by sea, they went, by land, to *Cæsarea*, the *metropolis* of *Palæstine*; where *Cornelius* and his friends had been converted, by St. PETER, as the *first-fruits* of the *devout gentiles*. And, in that city, they took up their lodgings with *Philip*, the *evangelist*; who had been one of the *seven deacons*, appointed to take care of the large, *charitable fund*; while the *christians* continued together, in such numbers, at *Jerusalem*. He was the second, upon their being chosen; and, after the *martyrdom* of St. STEPHEN, the first of them. This *Philip* first converted the *samaritanes* to *christianity*. And, after his converting the *Æthiopian eunuch*, it is very likely that he settled at *Cæsarea*; and lived and died there. He had now four daughters; who were *virgins*, and *propheteesses*<sup>e</sup>. But the *cælibacy* of the *clergy*, or of any *religious* persons, was not enjoined, nor thought a duty, in that truly *primitive* and *apostolic age*.

St. PAUL and his company tarried, for several days, at *Cæsarea*. And, in the mean time, there came down, to them, the *prophet Agabus*, from *Judæa*. It was he, who, some years before this, went to *Antioch* in *Syria*; and foretold, in an assembly of the *christians*, the great famine, which had since happened, (as he prædicted,) over all the land of *Judæa*<sup>f</sup>. He now, at *Cæsarea*, prophesied, as plainly and publicly, concerning St. PAUL. For, in the presence of several of the *christians*, he took up the APOSTLE's girdle. And (after a significant, and very common manner, in the *eastern countries*, of expressing themselves, by actions) he bound his own hands and feet, and said; "Thus saith the *holy spirit*, so will the *jews* at *Jerusalem* bind the man, to whom this girdle belongs; and will  
" deliver

Ver. 5. <sup>c</sup> See the note on Acts xvi. 13.

Ver. 7. <sup>d</sup> It is called *Accho*, Judg. iii. 31. It is now in the possession of the *Turks*; and by them called *Acca*, or *Acra*. In those ridiculous wars, called the *holy wars*, this town was, for a long time, the theatre of many, fierce, and bitter, contentions between the *christians* and the *infidels*. 'Till, at last, the *infidels* took it, and made it an heap of ruins, as it now is. [See *Maundrell's travels*, p. 53, &c.]

Ver. 9. <sup>e</sup> Acts ii. 17,

Ver. 11. <sup>f</sup> Acts xi. 28.



" deliver him [*as they did his great LORD and master,*] into the hands  
 " of the *gentiles*." Upon hearing this dreadful prophetic repeted,  
 more expressly, and with additional circumstances; St. PAUL's com-  
 panions joined, with the *christians* of *Cæsarea*, in begging of that A-  
 POSTLE, with tears in their eyes, and with the greatest importunity, not to go up to *Jerusalem*. To which, he, with the bravery and  
*spirit* of a *martyr*, replied: " What mean you thus to weep, and al-  
 " most break my heart, with the tenderesse and concern, which  
 " you expresse for me, upon this occasion? Do not unman me so.  
 " For, (though I am anxious for the welfare of the *christian church*,  
 " in general; and for you, in particular; yet) for my own part, I  
 " am ready, not onely to be bound, but even to die, for the sake of  
 " MY GREAT LORD and MASTER. And, that at *Jerusalem*, where  
 " he himself was crucified; if it shall please him to call me to die a  
 " *martyr*, for *christianity*, in that city." And, when they could  
 not prevail, they importuned him no more; but said, " The will of  
 " the LORD be done."

An. Christ.  
 58.  
 Nero. 4.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VII.  
 Sect. XI.  
 Acts xxi.  
 II, &c.

Not many days after, they loaded their carriages, and went up  
 to *Jerusalem*. And, with them, several of the *christians*, from *Cæ-*  
*sarea*; who brought them to the house of one *Mnason*<sup>s</sup>, a native of  
 the island *Cyprus*, that had been a *christian* for a considerable time.  
 Probably, he might be one of the *disciples*, converted before OUR  
 LORD's crucifixion. That *antient disciple* had an house, at *Jerusa-*  
*lem*. And to that, they repaired, for lodging. For, in those days,  
 they had not inns, and such accommodations for strangers and tra-  
 vellers, as we have now. And, at the great festivals, it was a diffi-  
 cult matter to get a convenient lodging, at *Jerusalem*: as such vast  
 multitudes flocked thither, from all parts.

With his arriveal at *Jerusalem*, at this time, ended St. PAUL's  
 third apostolic journey.

Ver. 16. See Sir Norton Knatchbull in loc.

C H A P.



## C H A P. VIII.

An. Christ. 59.  
Nero. 5.  
Book III.  
Ch. VIII.  
Sect. I.  
Acts xxi.  
17, &c.

*St. PAUL is accused of preaching false doctrine, by the zealous jewish christians, at Jerufalem. In condescension to their præjudices, he takes upon him the nazarite's vow. But, before he had finished the days of his purification, he was seized by the jews, and imprisoned by the roman tribune; before whom he made an apologie. He was brought before the sanhedrim; and afterwards sent, under a strong guard, to Cæsarea; to prevent his being murthered by the jews. There he apologized, for himself, and for the christian religion, before king Agrippa; but was confined, in that city, for above two years. Upon appealing to Cæsar, Festus determined to send him to Rome. Acts xxi. 17,—xxvi. 32.*

*This is the third and last period of the conversion of the idolatrous gentiles. Wherein it was known to all the elders of the christian church, at Jerufalem, that the gospel was preached among the idolatrous gentiles.*

## S E C T. I.

*St. PAUL, and the messengers of the Macedonian and Achaian churches, were kindly received, at Jerufalem. He informs all the elders, in that city, of the conversion of the idolatrous gentiles. The zealous jewish christians accuse St. PAUL. He maketh all lawful condescensions, in order to remove their præjudices; and, particularly, takes upon him the nazarite's vow. The APOSTLE of the gentiles vindicated, in so doing. Acts xxi. 17,—26.*

**S**T. PAUL, and his company, being arrived at Jerufalem, the christians there received them, with pleasure. And not the lesse so, because of the considerable sum of money, which they had brought, for the use of their poor. The day after their arriveal, they all went unto JAMES, the onely APOSTLE then at Jerufalem. And all the elders,



elders, in that city, were likewise present. And, after the APOSTLE An. Christ. 59. Nero. 5. of the gentiles had saluted them, and paid them all proper respect; he then gave a particular account of what successe GOD had given him, among the gentiles. They had long been acquainted with the conversion of the devout gentiles. But now it was, that they first took him to mean the idolatrous gentiles. Upon this information, therefore, they gave glory to the LORD JESUS; who had extended his mercy so far, beyond what they ever expected. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I. Acts xxi. 20.

I cannot here forbear observeing, how wisely the providence of GOD, and the conduct of St. PAUL, concurred, a second time, to bring over the jewish christians, to entertain favorable sentiments of their gentile brethren. For, when the devout gentiles were taken into the christian church, the minds of the jewish christians were a little soured. But, upon the prophet Agabus his foretelling an approaching famine, the profelyted gentile converts, at Antioch in Syria, made a generous collection, for the use of the poor christians in Judæa: Which was as likely, as any thing, to create a favorable opinion of them, among such as received the benefit of it. St. PAUL was one of the persons, by whose hands, that charity was sent, from Antioch, to Jerusalem. And, now again, when the great APOSTLE of the gentiles came to that city, with a very large sum of money; which he had collected, among the christian churches, that consisted chiefly of converts from among the idolatrous gentiles; and which was designed for the use of the poor, jewish, christians, in Jerusalem; he took this favorable opportunity, when their minds were sweetened with such an extraordinary kindnesse, to acquaint all the christian elders, there, with the conversion of the idolatrous gentiles:—that grand discovery, which he had formerly communicated, onely to JAMES, PETER, and JOHN; the three of the greatest repute among the APOSTLES of the circumcision; and unto them privately, and under the seal of the greatest secrecy; lest the zealeots among the judaizers, at Jerusalem, should have got acquainted with it, and thereupon done all, they could, to frustrate his labors. It is very likely, that he now reckoned the gentile christians in lesse danger of being subverted. And, possibly, the thing itself could not have been easily concealed, much longer, from the elders of the christian church, at Jerusalem. But, notwithstanding St. PAUL took such an agreeable occasion, of discovering that grand event; yet it seems highly probable, to me, that it put them the more upon pressing him, to clear himself of an aspersiõ, which his enemies had cast upon him, and which had spread, among all the christians, in Jerusalem. “ You



An. Christ. "see, brother, PAUL, (said they) how many *myriads* of *jews* have  
 59. "imbraced *christianity*. And they all continue zealous observers of  
 Nero. 5. "the *law of Moses*. Now, such a scandal hath been thrown upon  
 Book III. "you; as, that you teach all the *jewish christians*, in *gentile coun-*  
 Ch. VIII. "tries, to apostatise from *the law*<sup>a</sup>; and assert, that they ought not  
 Sect. I. "to *circumcise* their children, nor observe the rites and customs<sup>b</sup>,  
 Acts xxi. "which *Moses* enjoined. What, therefore, can be done, to clear  
 20, &c. "you? For the *christians* of *Jerusalem*, in general, have heard of  
 "this charge against you. And they will certainly come together,  
 "as soon as they understand that you are in the city. And your  
 "coming cannot be long concealed. Let us advise you to make use  
 "of the following expedient, in order to cut off all grounds for cla-  
 "mor and uneasiness.—We have four men, who are under the *na-*  
 "zarite's vow<sup>c</sup>. Do you take them, and be purified with them.  
 "And, after that, let the proper offerings and sacrifices be provided,  
 "at your cost; that, when the days of purification are ended, their  
 "heads may be shaven, and the usual offerings made, for all of you<sup>d</sup>.  
 "And then we will inform our *brethren*, of what you have done;  
 "in order to set you right in their opinion; and that they may con-  
 "clude, that it is an aspersion, which hath been cast upon you. For,  
 "as you yourself walk orderly, and observe the *rituals* of the *jewish*  
 "law; they will hardly suppose that you would teach all *jewish*  
 "christians, in *gentile* countries, to *apostatise* from *that law*.

"As to the *christian converts*, from among the *devout gentiles*, or  
 "proselytes of the gate; [For, of the *conversion* of *idolatrous gentiles*,  
 "we never heard any thing, 'till now. But, as to the *proselyted gen-*  
 "tile converts;] you remember, that we, in a full and unanimous  
 "assembly of APOSTLES, elders, and brethren, did, some time ago,  
 "conclude it to be the mind and will of GOD, and that the *holy spi-*  
 "rit had planely signified, that there was no necessity for them to  
 "observe the whole *law of Moses*, in order to their being accepted as  
 "christians. And, accordingly, we wrote a letter; wherein we de-  
 "clared

Ver. 21. <sup>a</sup> The Ebionites did, afterwards, reject all St. Paul's epistles, ἀποσάτην ἀποκαλῶντες αὐτὸν τὸ νόμον, calling him an apostate from the law. [Euseb. eccles. hist. l. 3. c. 27.]

<sup>b</sup> See Dr. Wotton's preface, to his first vol. on the *Misna*, p. 46.

Ver. 23. <sup>c</sup> Numb. vi. 1, &c.

Ver. 24. <sup>d</sup> Jos. de Bell. l. 2. c. 15. § 1. Zealous persons used to be at a part, or the whole charge. Though, sometimes, the expence was considerable. See Jos. Antiq. l. 19. c. 6. § 1. where *Josephus* uses the very expression, [of shaving the nazarites,] which is here made use of. See, also, Ainsworth on Num. vi. 18. and Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel history, part 1. p. 465. third edition.



“clared to them, the liberty, which they have in CHRIST JESUS. An. Christi 59. Nero. 5.  
 “Onely putting them in mind of their obligations, to continue to  
 “abstain from these four things, from which the *law of Moses* re- Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I.  
 “quires all *profelytes of the gate* to abstain; namely, *from things of-* Acts xxi. 25, &c.  
 “*fered to idols; from blood; from what is strangled; and from forni-*  
 “*cation, or all manner of venereal uncleanness.*” St. PAUL, *the*  
*great, the good*, (who readily became all things, to all men; and con-  
 descended to the præjudices and infirmities of the weakest *christians*,  
 as far as he could do it with a good conscience,) submitted to com-  
 ply with their proposel. And the next day, takeing the four men,  
 he began to purifie himself, along with them; entering into the *tem-*  
*ple*, and publicly declareing, that he would observe the separation of  
 a *nazarite*, and continue it for seven days. At the end of which  
*days of purification*, he would bring an offering, for himself, and the  
 other four, who joined with him; according to what was appointed  
 in the *law of Moses*.

As this part of the *sacred history* is thought to be attended with  
 some difficulties; it may be proper to say something, either to re-  
 move, or alleviate, them. In the first place: I think it highly pro-  
 bable, from the *jewish christians*, in general, continueing to *circum-*  
*cise* their children, and to observe the *ceremonies* of the *law of Moses*;  
 and from St. JAMES, and the *elders* at *Jerusalem*, putting St. PAUL,  
 upon this method of clearing himself, of the charge laid against him:  
 —From these things, I say, it seems to follow, that the *APOSTLES* of  
*the circumcision* had not, as yet, a distinct knowlege, or full con-  
 viction, of the freedom of the *jewish christians*, from the *ceremonial*  
*law*. As to St. PETER's *vision*, [Acts x. 12, &c.] I have said enough  
 already. As, likewise, concerning his calling *circumcision*, and the  
 burthen some service of the *jewish law*, “a yoke; which neither their  
*fathers*, nor they, were able to bear.” For, however we, who  
 have the whole *gospel* before us, may understand such expressions;  
 the *APOSTLES* of *the circumcision*, seem to have extended them, onely  
 to the *christians*, who had been *devout gentiles*; and to have had no  
 clear notion of the *jewish converts* being absolved from the observation  
 of the *law of Moses*. For, that they should account it an *intolerable*  
*yoke*, upon the neck of the *jewish christians*; and yet never intimate  
 that they were discharged from it, if they themselves had had a clear  
 knowlege, and full conviction, of it's being *abolished*; is (I think)  
 by no means to be supposed. The *APOSTLES* of *the circumcision* were  
 so far præjudiced, in favor of *the law*, and of it's duration; that, for  
 a long time, THEY were not able to comprehend, or receive, such a  
 discovery.



An. Christ. discovery. And much less were the other *jewish christians*, in *Ju-*  
 59. *dea*, able to bear it. OUR LORD, therefore, who knew their inte-  
 Nero. 5. grity, bore with their præjudices; and instilled truth into their minds,  
 Book III. no faster than they could receive it. For, (not to mention how  
 Ch. VIII. much the clear and full discovery of this, all at once, would have  
 Sect. I. shocked the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*, themselves,) to have sent  
 Acts xxi. 26. them to the *jews*, with an open declaration, that the *ceremonial law*  
 was abolished, would have been to have crossed the very design of  
 sending them: to have bespoke an aversion to *their doctrine*; to have  
 stoped the ears of the *jews*, and to have turned their hearts from  
 them. It was, indeed, abolished, *de jure*, from the death of CHRIST,  
 and the erecting the *gospel kingdom*. But GOD took this wise me-  
 thod, gradually to acquaint them with it. Instead of revealing it,  
 clearly, fully, and all at once, to the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*;  
 he reveled it, after some years, to St. PAUL, the renowned APOSTLE  
 of the *gentiles*. And the knowlege thereof could not fail of coming  
 to the other APOSTLES, and *their converts*, when it should be season-  
 able. This sheweth us, why those *jewish christians* continued so te-  
 nacious of the *ceremonial law*; and why we may find much clearer  
 intimations of it's being *abolished*, in St. PAUL's *epistles*, than in the  
*speeches*, or *epistles*, of the other APOSTLES.

In the second place, I would say something to vindicate St. PAUL's  
 character. For, some have thought him culpable, for making this  
 condescension; though the *jewish christians* would have thought him  
 highly culpable, if he had not done so. So difficult a thing is it, to  
 please mankind!—In order to clear up this part of the character of the  
 great APOSTLE of the *gentiles*, it must be observed, that, though  
 the *ceremonial law* was, *de jure*, abolished, by the death of CHRIST;  
 yet as, *de facto*, the *jewish christians* could not, immediately, get  
 over their præjudices, GOD in mercy bore with them. And not  
 onely discovered the *abolishing* of the *law* gradually; but, even after  
 that, left it *indifferent*, or *lawful*, for them, (as long as their præ-  
 judices remained) to conform to the *rites* and *customs*, which *Moses*  
 had delivered unto them. [See *Rom. xiv. 5; 14; 23.*] Nay, far-  
 ther; it was, likewise, *lawful*, for such *jewish christians*, as were  
 convinced of their own liberty, to comply, in some cases, with the  
*ceremonial law*. For instance, where there was a prospect of gaining  
*disciples*, among the *jews*; or of confirming such of them, in *chris-*  
*tianity*, as did already profess it. Thus St. PAUL circumcised *Ti-*  
*motby*, (as hath been observed above) to take away all offence from  
 the *jews*, and *jewish christians*, about *Lystra*. For, they all knew  
 that



that his mother was a *jewesse*. And his condescension, in the present case, was not a mean compliance; but highly becoming the most excellent character, and an instance of great goodnesse. For, what could be more so, than to abridge himself of his own liberty, for his neighbor's good? And, though he knew, and might have insisted upon, his own freedom from any such obligations; yet he would not, for fear of offending the weak and scrupulous; for whom the LORD JESUS condescended even to die. Had he, indeed, by such compliances, declared, that he still thought the *ceremonial law* in full force and obligation; that might justly have been objected to him, as criminal. But, when he evidently did it, in condescension to the prejudiced and scrupulous; it was greatly to his praise. It was a denying himself, for the good of the public; and seeking earnestly, (as OUR BLESSED LORD did) not to please himself, but his neighbors, for their benefit and edification. That this was his view, appeareth plainly, from many passages in his *epistles*. [1 Cor. vi. 12.] "All things (all sorts of *meats*, whether *clean* or *unclean*, according to the *law of Moses*) are lawful for me; but all are not expedient;" And, [1 Cor. x. 23, 24.] he repeteth the same thing; *namely*, that "all things (all sorts of wholesome food) were lawful; but all were not expedient. And, that every *christian* ought not to seek his own good onely; but the good of others, also." But the place, which is most expresse, and full, to this purpose; and which may serve, as a key, to all the texts and instances of this kind, is, 1 Cor. ix. 19,—23. where St. PAUL, speaking of his own conduct, saith, that, "though he was free from such peculiar obligations, he had made condescensions, both to *jews* and *gentiles*, as far as it was lawful; that he might bring over, to *christianity*, as many of them, as he could; or confirm such, as had imbraced the *gospel*." And, surely, it is almost needlesse to observe, that the APOSTLE speaks of this his behavior, (not as unlawful, or criminal; mean, or unworthy the best and most excellent character; but) as the most excellent and praise-worthy, and what would end in a most glorious reward.

I do not suppose that St. PAUL did observe the *ceremonial law*, in *gentile countries*; where there were no *jews*, nor *jewish christians*, who would have been offended at his using his *christian liberty*. But, to such of the *jews*, and *jewish christians*, as appeared to be sincere, he made very great condescensions; that he might gain them to, or confirm them in, the *christian religion*. As to the present instance: It was at the earnest request of St. JAMES, and of the *christian elders*, at *Jerusalem*, that he now purified himself; joined with the *four* *jewish*

An. Christ.

59.  
Nero. 5.

Book III.

Ch. VIII.

Sect. I.

Acts xxi.

26.



An. Christ. *jewish converts*, who were under the *nazarite's vow*; and consented, not onely to offer the usual sacrifices, when the days of their separation were ended; but even to be at the whole charge of provideing the sacrifices, and other usual oblations. And, "why did he do this?" "Why! it is evident, he did it to avoid giveing offence to the weak, and zealous, *jewish christians*, who were, as yet, strict in their observation of the *ceremonial law*; and who would have been in danger, either of throwing off their *christianity*, if St. PAUL had not complied; or of disowning him, and the *gentile christians*, who were his *converts*." As the charge against him stood, it was actually false. For, St. PAUL had not taught ALL the *jewish christians*, in *gentile countries*, that the *ceremonial law* was abolished. In such of his discourses, at the *jewish synagogues*, as are recorded in the ACTS of the APOSTLES, he doeth not appear to have said any thing about it. Most of the *jews*, among whom he preached, could not have borne such a discovery. And that excellent APOSTLE was too wise and benevolent, to bespeak their aversion to *christianity*, and frustrate the great design of his life and labors. The case seemeth to me to have stood thus:— Though he doeth not appear to have taught any such thing, immediately and directly, to any of the *jewish converts*, out of *Judæa*; yet, in some of his *epistles* to the *gentile churches*, he had introduced a *jew*, or *jewish christian*, objecting to his doctrine; and, in answering such difficulties and objections, had dropt some hints, concerning CHRIST's abolishing of the *ceremonial law*. This, comeing to the ears of some of the *jewish converts*, (most probably, from their assembling, in the same time and place, with the *gentile christians*, and haveing his *epistles* publicly read in their churches) alarmed them. And, very likely, they communicated it to others; 'till it spread among the churches; and, at last, reached *Jerusalem*; and occasioned the accusation, which we are here considering. However; they had alleged more than the APOSTLE was really chargeable with. For there were many *jewish christians*, out of *Judæa*, to whom he had never hinted any such thing; either in his preaching, or by writeing *epistles* to them. He might, therefore, very justly clear himself of that accusation, For he was not guilty; if that had been a crime; as the *jewish christians*, at *Jerusalem*, accounted it a very great crime. And, if we consider the imprudence of such a thing, it would have been culpable; and attended with bad consequences. Insisting upon his own liberty, and declareing, openly, and all at once, that all *jewish christians*, were intirely free from



from all obligation to observe the *ceremonial law*, might have destroyed them, for whom *the son of GOD* condescended to lay down his life. And, certainly, that would have been a very great crime! For these, and like reasons, though St. PAUL knew, by *immediate revelation*, that the *ceremonial law* was abolished, by the death of CHRIST; yet he had not, openly, and every where, published that revelation. For such reasons, he did not, in so many words, say, to the *zealous jewish christians*, at *Jerusalem*, "that the *ceremonial law* was abolished; and, that what he then did, was by way of "condescension to the weak and scrupulous." No! that would have been to have defeated the very design of his doing it; and would, very likely, have been attended with all the bad effects of his lying under the imputation, or not making that compliance at all. He openly declared, once, to an APOSTLE of the circumcision, [Gal. ii. 15, &c.] and frequently to *jewish*, as well as *gentile christians*, that "the depending "upon the observation of the *law of Moses*, for justification, was to "destroy the *gospel*, and to render it of none effect." [Rom. iii. 20; 28. and iv. 14, &c. and v. 1. and x. 3, 4. Gal. iii. 11, &c. 18.] And, by his EPISTLES to *gentile christians*, which were read publicly, in their churches; before both *jewish*, and *gentile converts*; as well as by his general conduct; he gave the inquisitive, and well-disposed, a key to open his whole character, and to show that this particular compliance, was only by way of condescension. To have been more explicate, at this time, would have given his enemies too great an handle; and left the weak, and scrupulous, under invincible prejudices against him. In such a situation, his conduct was highly becoming his own great wisdom; and the extraordinary *illumination*, which he had received from heaven.

The sum of what hath been said, (in order to vindicate the APOSTLE's character, in this particular,) comes to this. "He had "not taught all the *jewish christians*, in *gentile countries*, to forsake "the *law of Moses*. Nay; he doeth not appear to have taught it, as "yet, to any of them, directly and immediately. That he took "upon him the vow of a *nazarite*, because it was an *indifferent thing*; or *lawful* for him to comply with the deep-rooted prejudices of the *jewish christians*. That, if he had not complied, at this time, and in the present circumstances, the *Christianity* of the *jewish converts* would have been in danger; or, at least, their charity for, and union with, the *gentile churches*, which he had planted. And, that if he had gone about to explicate him-

"self,

An. Christ.

59.  
Nero. 5.

Book III.

Ch. VIII.

Sect. I.

Acts xxi.

26.



An. Christ. "self, immediately, and at large, the consequences would, probably,  
 Nero. 5. "have been as bad."

Book III.  
 Ch. VIII.  
 Sect. II.  
 Acts xxi.  
 27, &c.

C H A P. VIII. S E C T. II.

*The Asian jews, spying St. PAUL, in the second court of the temple, stir up the people against him; who apprehend and beat him. The roman tribune rescues him. His speech to the people, from the tower of Antonia. They, after some time, interrupt him with their clamor. Lyfias, the tribune, was going to examine him, by torture; but desisted, when he understood that he was a free roman. Acts xxi. 27,—xxii. 29.*

WHEN the seven days, which were set apart for his purification, were about to be accomplished; some of the jews, who were come, from *Asia propria*, to celebrate the feast of pentecost, at *Jerusalem*, spied the APOSTLE, in the second court of the temple. They had seen him, before, at *Ephesus*; and had been active, in opposing him there. And now, seeing him again at *Jerusalem*, they put the people immediately in an uproar. And, laying hands upon St. PAUL, they cried out, "Men of Israel, help us! Here is the very man, who goeth about, among the nations, exciting mankind, against the people of the jews; and teaching them things contrary to the law of Moses<sup>a</sup>, and contrary to the honor and sanctity of this holy place, the temple. Nay; and he hath even brought gentiles into the court of the Israelites; and, in so doing, hath been accessory to the pollution of this sacred place.<sup>b</sup>"

For,

Ver. 28. <sup>a</sup> The prodigious veneration, which the jews had for the law, may be seen, in *Josephus*, de bell. jud. l. 2. c. 12. § 2. See p. 75, 76. of this second volume.

<sup>b</sup> How careful, the jews were, to preserve the purity of the temple, vid. *Philo. de legat.* p. 1025. E. and the note on the essay, concerning the abolishing of the ceremonial law, annexed to *Titus*, p. 66. first edition; p. 458, 459. second edition.

And,



For, a little before that, they had seen *Trophimus*, a *gentile christian*, from *Ephesus*, walking the streets of *Jerusalem*, along with the APOSTLE. And they supposed that he had brought him into the second court of the temple, called, the court of the Israelites, or of the women. Into which, if any *gentile* entered, according to both *Josephus* and *Philo*, it was present death<sup>c</sup>. This accusation, though false, put all the city in a commotion; and brought a vast concourse of people together; who seized upon St. PAUL, in order to kill him. And, therefore, they drew him out of that court of the Israelites, lest it should have been defiled with his blood; and they hurried him into the court of the gentiles, which was not accounted so holy. And, immediately, the gates of the temple were shut. Then they fell upon him, with what the jews used to call, the rebel's beating. Which was, the people's punishing such as, they apprehended, had rebelled against their law; and that, without any judicial process. Their manner of beating them, was, with staves, stones, whips; or any thing, that they could lay their hands on, first. And they frequently beat them without measure; and so unmercifully, that several have died under their hands. [Some have thought, that the APOSTLE alluded to this beating, 2 Cor. xi. 23. when he saith, *he had received stripes above measure*. But he could not, in that expression, refer to this instance; because, that epistle was written, long before this happened.] *John Hyrcanus*, high-priest and prince of the jews, built the castle, which was called *baris*; that is, a palace, or royal castle, on a steep rock; fifty cubits high, without the outward square, on the north-west corner of the temple; but, upon the same mountain, and joining to the said square<sup>d</sup>. This was called the palace of the *Asmonæans*, in *Jerusalem*; as long as they reigned there. In that castle, the sacred robes of the high-priest were laid up, when they were not in use. When *Herod the great* came to be king of *Judæa*, he rebuilt the castle, and made it a very strong fortress<sup>e</sup>; lining, or caseing over, the high rock, on which it stood, with polished, white marble, so as to make it inaccessible from the subjacent valley; and, building the castle itself so high, as to com-

An. Christ.  
59.  
Nero. 5.  
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Ch. VIII.  
Sect. II.  
Acts xxi.  
29, &c.

G g

mand

And, how ready they were to resent any affront done to it; and to rise, in a tumultuous manner, to do themselves justice, immediately; vid. *Joseph. de bell. jud. l. 2. c. 12. § 1.* See also p. 75, 76. of this second volume.

Ver. 29.<sup>c</sup> See what is said, in a note on the Essay, concerning the ceasing of the ceremonial law, annexed to *Titus*, p. 66. first edition; p. 458, 459. second edition.

Ver. 31.<sup>d</sup> *Jos. antiq. jud. l. 18. c. 4. § 3.* & *de bell. jud. l. 5. c. 5. § 8.*

<sup>e</sup> *Joseph. antiq. jud. l. 15. c. 11. § 4.*



An. Christ. mand the *temple*, and see what was done in the two outer courts of  
 Nero. 5. that sacred place: that he might send down his soldiers, in case of  
 any tumult<sup>f</sup>. And, when he had made these alterations, he called  
 Book III. it *Antonia*; in honor of his great friend, *Mark Antony*. When the  
 Ch. VIII. romans, afterwards, reduced *Judæa*, from a kingdom, to a province,  
 Sect. II. they also kept a strong garrison, in the same place; particularly, at the  
 Acts xxi. 31, &c. time of the solemn festivals, when the *jews* came, in such vast mul-  
 titudes, to the *temple*<sup>g</sup>. And a great tumult being now made about  
 the APOSTLE; probably, some of the *centinels*, who kept watch on  
 the south-east turret of the castle *Antonia*, spied it; and gave no-  
 tice to the *roman tribune*, (who was *captain* of the fortresse, and had  
 a thousand soldiers under him,) that all *Jerusalem* was in an uproar.  
 Immediately, upon this notice, the *tribune* took *centurions*, with  
 the hundred soldiers, whom they, each of them, commanded; and  
 ran down the stairs, which led from the south-east turret of the *castle*,  
 into the outer cloysters of the *temple*; and, from thence, into the  
*court of the gentiles*, where the mutiny was. Upon seeing the *tribune*,  
 attended with such a number of armed men, they left off beating  
 the innocent APOSTLE. And then *Lyfias*, the *tribune* himself, took  
 him into his custody, and fulfilled *Agabus* his *prophecie*. For, he  
 ordered him to be bound with two chains; as concluding that he was  
 some notorious malefactor. But, when he inquired "who he was,  
 and what was his crime?" he could get no satisfactorie account,  
 from that enraged multitude. For some of them answered him one  
 thing; and others, another. And, when he found, that, in such a  
 tumult, he could have no certain account of his crime; he ordered  
 the soldiers to conduct him into the *castle of Antonia*; up the same  
 pair of stairs, through which they came down. And, when they  
 had brought the APOSTLE to the bottom of the stairs, there was  
 such a vast croud of people, pressing them on every side, that the  
 soldiers were forced to take him up, and carry him in their arms.  
 For the multitude followed, in a furious manner, crying out; "Away  
 with him, away with him, to the death, which he so well de-  
 serveth." And, when he had got almost to the top of the stairs,  
 and was going to be conducted into the *castle*, to the place where he  
 was to be confined; St. PAUL spoke, in *greek*, to the *tribune*, and  
 said; "Will you give me leave to say a word, or two, to you?"  
*Lyfias*, (apprehending it to have been the *impostor*, mentioned already<sup>h</sup>;  
 whom *Felix* had opposed, and put to flight) answered: "What,  
 then!

<sup>f</sup> Joseph. de bell. jud. l. 5. c. 5. § 8.

<sup>g</sup> Joseph. Antiq. jud. l. 20. c. 8. § 11.

<sup>h</sup> See above, p. 156, 157, of this second volume.



" then! can you speak greek? Are not you that *ægyptian*, who, An. Christ.  
 " some time ago, made a disturbance in this country? And, under <sup>59.</sup> Nero. 5.  
 " the pretence of being a *mighty prophet*, led out, into the wilder- <sup>Book III.</sup>  
 " nefs, four thousand of the *sicarii*?" To which, St. PAUL replied, <sup>Ch. VIII.</sup>  
 " No! I am not an *ægyptian*, but a *jew*; who was borne at Tar- <sup>Sect. II.</sup>  
 " *sus*, the *metropolis* of *Cilicia*; a city by no means despicable, <sup>Acts xxi.</sup>  
 " if you consider either it's grandeur, antiquity, or fame for the li- <sup>37. &c.</sup>  
 " beral arts and sciences. And my present request to you, is, that  
 " you would permit me to speak to this vast concourse of people."

When the *tribune* had given him leave; the APOSTLE stood at the top of the stairs, and beckoned with his hand, to the people, for audience. And, when a profound silence was made; he lifted up his voice, in the *hebrew tongue*, and addressed himself, to the people, in the following manner: " My brethren and fathers, attend <sup>Acts xxii.</sup>  
 " carefully to my *apologie*, which I am now going to make be- <sup>I, &c.</sup>  
 " fore you." And, when they heard that he spoke in *hebrew*, or *syro-chaldaic*; which was the language, that was the vulgar tongue, and the most esteemed at *Jerusalem*; and not in *greek*, or like an *hellenistic jew*, of whom they had lesse favorable sentiments; much lesse, a *gentile*; they were more careful to continue in deep silence. During which, the APOSTLE proceeded to speak, to this effect:

St. PAUL's SPEECH to the people of the *jews*, as he stood upon the stairs, which led, from the cloysters, in the temple, up to the tower of *Antonia*.

When the APOSTLE, by begining in the *hebrew*, or *syro-chaldaic*, language, had fixed the attention of the people, he proceeded to say:  
 " If you would know, how, from a *zealous jew*, I became so zealous  
 " a promoter of the *christian religion*, take the account as follows.  
 " I am really descended from the race of the *jews*; and was borne  
 " in *Tarsus*, the chief city of *Cilicia*. But I came, in my younger  
 " days, from thence; and was educated, in this city, *Jerusalem*;  
 " where I sate, as a scholar, at the feet of *Rabbi Gamaliel*; who was,  
 " as you all know, of the most strict and popular sect of the *jews*;  
 " that is, a *pharisee*. And, by him, I was instructed in the *religion*  
 " of our ancestors; being exceedingly zealous, not onely for the *law*  
 " of *Moses*; but, also, well acquainted with, and strictly tenacious  
 " of, the *traditions of the elders*; as you, in general, are, at this  
 " day. And I persecuted this sect; that is, the *christians*, even to  
 " death;



An. Christ. "death; apprehending, binding, and casting into prison, such as  
 59. "professed *christianity*, whether men or women; as *Caiaphas*, who  
 Nero. 5. "was then high-priest, could testify; and, likewise, the whole *san-*  
 Book III. "hedrim. For, from them I received *letters*, to the *jews* at *Damasc-*  
 Ch. VIII. "cus, when I went thither, purely with a design, to bring all the  
 Sect. II. "christians, that I could meet with, in chains, to *Jerusalem*; in or-  
 Acts xxii. "der to their being punished, as blasphemers of the *law of Moses*. But  
 4, &c. "it came to passe, that, as I was upon my journey, and not far from  
 "the city *Damascus*; about the middle of the day, all on a sudden,  
 "a great light from heaven shone round about me. Upon which, I  
 "fell to the ground, with reverence, and astonishment. And, as I  
 "lay prostrate, I heard a voice, saying unto me, in the *hebrew*  
 "tongue; *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*" To which I answer-  
 ed: "Who art thou, LORD; that I should persecute thee?" He  
 replied: "I am *JESUS of Nazareth*; and, in persecuting my disci-  
 "ples, thou persecutest me." They also, who were with me, saw  
 "the glorious light; and were struck with terror and astonishment.  
 "But they did not understand any thing, of what the voice spoke to  
 "me. However; I myself (being acquainted with the *hebrew* lan-  
 "guage, and distinctly hearing what was said) understood it all, ve-  
 "ry well; and proceeded to inquire, "*What shall I do, LORD?*" To  
 "which, the LORD answered: "*Arise, and go into Damascus. And*  
 "*there, every thing shall be told thee, which is appointed for thee to do,*  
 "*at present?*" When I arose from the ground, and had opened mine  
 "eyes, I immediately found, that the excessive splendor of *the cloud*  
 "*of glory* had so dazzled me, as to take away my sight. Some of  
 "the company, therefore, leading me by the hand, I went into *Da-*  
 "*mascus*. And there, one *Ananias*, (a strict observer of the *law of*  
 "*Moses*; and one, that had a good character among all the *jews*,  
 "who lived at *Damascus*) after three days, came unto me, as direct-  
 "ed by a *vision* from heaven; and, putting his hands upon mine  
 "eyes, he said, *Brother SAUL, receive your sight*. And, that very  
 "moment, my sight was restored. After which, he said: "The  
 "GOD of our renowned and pious ancestors, *Abraham, Isaac, and*  
 "*Jacob*; the same GOD, whom the *jews* have worshiped, from age  
 "to age, and whom we *christians* worship; even that GOD of our  
 "forefathers, hath chosen you: that you should know his sacred  
 "will; and see that innocent and righteous person, the *messiah*; and  
 "learn his *doctrine*, from his own mouth. For you are to be his  
 "witness, unto the world, of the things, which you have already  
 "seen, and heard; as well as of the things, which you are hereafter  
 "to



" to see, and hear. And now, why should you delay one moment  
 " longer? Arise, and be *baptized*: thereby washing away your for-  
 " mer sins, and devoteing yourself to a life of purity, such as the  
 " LORD JESUS requireth; whose name you are to invoke, as well as  
 " obey his other commands." According to *Ananias* his prædic-  
 " tion, it came to passe, that, after some years, when I returned to  
 " *Jerusalem*, and was praying, in the *second court* of the temple, I  
 " was in an *extasie*; in which, the LORD JESUS, who is the *messiah*,  
 " evidently appeared in person to me; declareing, by his own mouth,  
 " the *doctrine*, which I was to preach; and giveing me the following  
 " commission: " *Make haste*, (said he) *and depart from Jerusalem*;  
 " *do not attempt to preach the gospel, among the jews in this place*.  
 " For they will look upon thee as an *apostate*; and, under such inve-  
 " terate præjudices, they will never receive thy testimony, concerning  
 " me, or my doctrine." I answered; " LORD, it seemeth to me,  
 " that I am much more likely to do good, among the *jews*, in this  
 " city, than any where else. For, they can never think me an hy-  
 " pocrite, nor scruple my testimony; because they cannot reason-  
 " ably doubt of my haveing had sufficient evidence, before I made so  
 " great an alteration in my conduct. For they know very well, how  
 " I imprisoned the *christians*, and scourged them in many synagogues.  
 " And the *jews*, in *Jerusalem* particularly, can remember, that, when  
 " the blood of thy holy martyr, *Stephen*, was poured out, I was pre-  
 " sent; testifying my approbation, and even keeping the upper gar-  
 " ments of the false witnesses, who stoned him." But, after all,  
 " that I could allege, for the expedience of my preaching, among the  
 " *jews*; and of the aversion, which I had, to go to persons of other  
 " nations; the LORD said again, " Depart hence. For I know, very  
 " well, how little thy succeſſe would be, among the *jews*; and how  
 " much thou wilt spread the *gospel*, among the *gentiles*. And, there-  
 " fore, I order thee to go to the *gentiles*, in distant nations, and preach  
 " the *gospel* among them." — The *jews* were very fond of persuading  
 the *gentiles* to be *circumcised*, and so to become *profelytes of right-*  
*eousnesse*. But they understood the APOSTLE (as he meant) that he  
 was to go to the *gentiles*, and receive them into the church of GOD, e-  
 qually with the *jews*; without requireing them to be *circumcised*, and  
 to become subject to the *law of Moses*. And, therefore, though they  
 had thus far patiently heard the APOSTLE's story, and *apologie* for  
 himself, and for *christianity*; yet, as soon as ever he mentioned his  
 commission to go and preach to the *gentiles*, they could contain them-  
 selves no longer; but broke out into the greatest rage imaginable; lift-  
 ing

An. Christ.

59.  
Nero. 5.

Book III.

Ch. VIII.

Sect. II.

Act. xxii.

15, &c.



An. Christ. ing up their voices, and crying out aloud, "Away with such a fellow  
 59. Nero. 5. "from the earth! For, it is not fit that he should live a moment  
 Book III. "longer." When they made this fresh clamor; and some of them  
 Ch. VIII. pulled off their cloathes, as ready, and præpared, to stone him to  
 Sect. II. death; and others threw dust into the air, to expresse the highest  
 Acts xxii. rage and indignation against St. PAUL; the tribune, *Lyfias*, suspect-  
 22, &c. ed him to be some notorious criminal. And, therefore, he ordered  
 him to be carried into the *tower of Antonia*; that there, according to  
 the *roman custom*, he might be examined by torture; in order to ex-  
 tort a confession, from him, of the crime, and of the people's extreme  
 indignation against him. One of their ways of examining by torture,  
 was, by binding the person to a pillar, and severely scourging him<sup>i</sup>.

When the soldiers had stripped the innocent APOSTLE, and were  
 extending his arms to the utmost stretch, that they might bind him,  
 with thongs, upon the block, or short pillar, in order to scourge him,  
 in a terrible and cruel manner, 'till he should become his own accu-  
 ser; he said to the *centurion*, who was appointed to attend the tor-  
 ture; "Doeth the *roman law* permit you, in this manner, to bind a  
 "freeman of Rome; and to extort from him a condemnation of him-  
 "self, by scourging him with rods, before he hath had a legal trial,  
 "and a judicial sentence is past upon him<sup>k</sup>?" Upon that information,  
 the *centurion*, immediately, went to the *tribune*, and bade him "take  
 heed what he did. For his prisoner was a *free roman*." Then the  
*tribune* himself came to the APOSTLE, and said: "Tell me, sin-  
 cerely, are you a *freeman of Rome*?" "Yes, said he; that I cer-  
 tainly am." The *tribune* (wondering how a man, that made no  
 greater a figure, came by his *freedom*) answered again: "My *free-  
 dom* cost me a great sum of money; how came you by yours?" The  
 APOSTLE replied: "I am the son of a *freeman*; and so came I by  
 my *freedom*<sup>l</sup>." The *tribune*, being persuaded that he spoke the truth;  
 and that he was a *free roman*; ordered such as were going to extort  
 a confession from him, by scourging him, to unbind him, and desist.  
 Nor was he himself without some dread, of being called to an ac-  
 count, by his superiors, for binding, and attempting to scourge, a  
*freeman of Rome*, contrary to the *roman law*.

## C H A P.

Ver. 24. <sup>i</sup> That this was customary among the *romans*, about this time, see *Sueton.*  
 in *Aug.* c. 19. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 15. c. 56, 57. See also some instances among the *jews*;  
*Joseph. Antiq.* l. 16. c. 10. § 2, — 5.

Ver. 25. <sup>k</sup> See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. book 1. chap. 10.

Ver. 28. <sup>l</sup> See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. chap. 10. § 6, 7.



C H A P. VIII. S E C T. III.

*The APOSTLE brought before the sanhedrim. His treatment and behavior there. Upon his declaring himself for the resurrection from the dead, the pharisees and sadducees fell into a dispute among themselves. The tribune rescued the APOSTLE from them. Acts xxii. 30,—xxiii. 10.*

THE tribune, (still desirous to know, what the jews had to lay to the APOSTLE's charge) the next day, commanded him to be brought, from the place of his confinement, where (very probably) he was chained to a soldier. And, ordering the chief-priests, and the whole *sanhedrim*, the great council of the *jewish* nation, to assemble, he brought St. PAUL down, and set him before them.

An. Christi.  
59.  
Nero. 5.  
Book III.  
Ch. VIII.  
Sect. III.  
Acts xxii.  
30, &c.

Dr. Lightfoot supposeth that the *sanhedrim* had, for some years, before this, resided at *Jabneh*, nigh *Joppa*; but that they were now at *Jerusalem*, upon the account of it's being *pentecost*, one of the greatest festivals of the *jewish* nation. But, to me, they seem to have resided at *Jerusalem*. For they were there, when *Festus* came to that city; and went down, from thence, to *Cæsarea*, to accuse St. PAUL.

The tribune might think it highly proper to bring this affair before the *sanhedrim*, both to oblige the jews, and as it was a controversy about *their religion*; of which, it is likely, he understood very little. The present *jewish* high-priest was *Ananias*, the son of *Nebedæus*<sup>a</sup>; who, by his station, was the head of the *sanhedrim*. It has been related above<sup>b</sup>, that he succeeded *Joseph*, the son of *Camys*; and had been sent, in chains, to *Rome*, before this, to give an account, to *Claudius Cæsar*, of his behavior, in the quarrel, which happened between the jews and *samaritanes*, during the procuratorship of *Cumanus*. I suppose, he was acquitted, at the intercession of *Agrippa the younger*;

Ver. 30. <sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 5. § 2, & c. 6. § 2. <sup>b</sup> See p. 75; 77. of this 2d. vol.



An. Christ. younger; and so returned to Jerusalem, and still enjoyed the dignity of the high-priesthood.

59.  
Nero. 5.

Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. III. Acts xxiii. 1. &c. When the APOSTLE was brought before *that great council of the nation*, he looked earnestly upon them, to see if he knew any of their faces. For, when he sat, as a scholar, at the feet of Gamaliel, he had known most of them. And, probably, if he had not embraced *christianity*, he might, in time, have arrived to that dignity himself. When he had taken a view of them, for some time, he began his *apology* thus: "*Brethren*; I can appeal to GOD, the searcher of all hearts, that, notwithstanding the grievous things, which have been alleged against me, I have acted without hypocrisie, in the main habit of my life; and have lived with a good conscience, in the sight of GOD, unto this day."—[*that is*, When he was a *jew*, he, out of conscience, acted as a *jew*. Nay; even when he persecuted the *christians*, he acted according to conscience; though it was an erroneous conscience. And, in turning *christian*, and promoting the spread of the *gospel*, with such zeal, he acted according to conscience; and that not an erroneous conscience, but a conscience well-informed, and rightly guided and directed.<sup>c</sup>] Ananias, the high-priest, being full of præjudice against him, and the *gospel-doctrine*, condemned this speech, as too boasting and arrogant. And ordered some of the *apparitors*, who stood by the APOSTLE, to smite him on the mouth; for his taking upon him to glory so much in himself. Though it was, in reality, a well-grounded and just defence. But St. PAUL could not have wondered at such cruel and unrighteous treatment, if he had considered, that so had the false prophet, Zedekiah, dealt with the true prophet, Micaiah<sup>d</sup>. So had the high-priest, Pasbur, smote the prophet Jeremia<sup>e</sup>. And, what is more, in like manner had the wicked *jews* struck OUR LORD; when he behaved with the greatest modesty and innocence<sup>f</sup>. This treatment, however, exasperated the APOSTLE. Some think, that he was looking another way, and did not see who it was that gave such orders. Others think that, as the high-priest had not on his peculiar vestments, the APOSTLE did not know him: especially, when the *high-priesthood* was bought and sold so commonly; and the *romans* made such frequent

Ver. 1.<sup>c</sup> See on 1 Tim. i. 13. *The reasonableness of the christian religion*, p. III. & Episcopus on 1 John iii. 9. That phrase, [*a good conscience*], occurs, 1 Tim. i. 5; 19. and 1 Pet. iii. 16. where it signifies "a conscience enlightened by the gospel; as well as followed in life and action." And it ought to be remembered, that St. PAUL is here apologizing for his own conduct, since he turned *christian*.

Ver. 2.<sup>d</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Jer. xx. 2.

<sup>f</sup> John xviii. 22.



quent changes in that office. Which-ever be the true solution; the A-  
 POSTLE knew not that it was the high-priest, who gave that order. But, being provoked at such cruel and malicious treatment; he, in a quick and passionate manner, replied, "God shall smite thee, thou hypocrite! who, like a whited wall, puttest on a fair outside, whatever there be within. Thou pretendest to sit here, and judge me, according to the law: and yet commandest me to be struck on the mouth, contrary to the law; which saith, "Thou shalt do no unrighteousness in judgement;—but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor." Upon which, they, who stood by, said: "What! dost thou revile God's high-priest?" The APOSTLE, hearing this, immediately recalled his words; and made an apology, saying: "Indeed, brethren, I have been so long from Jerusalem, and so much a stranger to the changes, which have been made, in that sacred office, that I did not know that it was the high-priest<sup>h</sup>. Such an answer, to one in so high a place of dignity, must be owned to be unbecoming. For it is written, Thou shalt not revile the gods; nor speak evil of the rulers of thy people<sup>i</sup>."

An. Christ.  
 59.  
 Nero. 5.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VIII.  
 Sect. III.  
 Acts  
 xxiii. 3.  
 &c.

St. PAUL still continued to look about him. And, upon recollecting himself, and taking a careful view of the sanhedrim, he knew several of them. And, perceiving that one part of them were pharisees, and the other sadducees; he happily gave a turn to their unanimous proceedings against him, by crying out, as he stood in the open court, "Brethren, I am a pharisee myself; and the son of a pharisee. It is for my belief, and expectation, of the resurrection from the dead<sup>k</sup>, (among other important articles) that I am now standing to be judged." When he had said this, there arose a contention between the pharisees and the sadducees. And the sanhedrim was divided. For the sadducees held, that "there will be no resurrection

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" from

Ver. 3.<sup>g</sup> Lev. xix. 15.

Ver. 5.<sup>h</sup> Various have been the interpretations of this place. I think we ought to follow the plain and literal sense of the words. For, why might not the APOSTLE mistake, as well as another man? Though he was infallible, as to his knowledge of the christian doctrine; yet he was not so, in all his words and actions; in common life, or upon other occasions.

<sup>i</sup> Exod. xxii. 28.

Ver. 6.<sup>k</sup> The APOSTLE here refers, particularly, to the resurrection of JESUS; and, by him, of all mankind. This, all the jews, long before, knew to be the christian doctrine: and, therefore, here was no fraud, nor artful glosse, to curry favor with the pharisees; but onely an appeal to their prevailing doctrine; as a point, in which he agreed with them; and, as what greatly favored the christian doctrine, which he preached, and for which he suffered.



An. Christ. "from the dead; nor did they believe the existence of *angels*, or  
 Nero. 5. <sup>59.</sup> "*spirits*:" Whereas; the *pharisees* held all these articles; and so far  
 agreed with the *christian doctrine*.

Book III. St. PAUL's speech revived the old dispute between them. And  
 Ch. VIII. there was a great noise and clamor; each contending, that what  
 Sect. III. they held, was *the onely true doctrine*. At last; some of the learned  
 Acts men among the *pharisees* stood up, and argued in favor of the  
 xxiii. 8, APOSTLE. And (alludeing, very probably, to the *visions* and *re-*  
 &c. *velations*, which he had mentioned, in his *late speech* to the people)  
 they said: "As for our parts, upon considering the matter, we find  
 "no great fault with this man; whose *doctrine* you accuse, with so  
 "much vehemence. But, if a *spirit*, or an *angel*, [the existence  
 "of which we hold; though you *sadducees* deny that there is any  
 "such thing. But, if a *spirit*, or an *angel*,] hath appeared, and  
 "reveled any thing to him, as possibly they may; what he saith,  
 "ought carefully to be considered. And we should not con-  
 "demn him too rashly; lest we be found to fight against GOD!"  
 At last; the dissention ran so high, that the *tribune* was afraid they  
 would have pulled St. PAUL to pieces between them. And, there-  
 fore, he ordered a company of soldiers to go into the *council-chamber*,  
 and take him, by force, from the midst of them; and bring him  
 safe back, into the *tower of Antonia*, again.

Ver. 9. <sup>1</sup> Gamaliel was now dead. [See Dr. Prideaux, his *connexion*, &c. vol. 2.  
 p. 529.] Otherwise, one would have suspected that he had made this speech. It  
 being so very like the speech, which he is recorded to have made. [Acts v. 39.]  
*Party-spirit* now carried the *pharisees*, to say the same things, concerning *chris-*  
*tianity*; which *policy*, and the *national expectations*, led Gamaliel to say, in the place  
 above cited.



## C H A P. VIII. S E C T. IV.

*The LORD JESUS appeareth, in a vision, to PAUL; comforteth him, under his present confinement; and telleth him, that he must go to Rome, to preach the gospel there. The forty conspirators against his life are disappointed; and PAUL sent to Cæsarea. Acts xxiii. II, to the end of that chapter.*

**T**HE night after St. PAUL had been before the *sanhedrim*, the LORD JESUS (who used to dispatch *an angel*, upon inferior occasions, and to inferior persons; and who, after his *ascension*, appeared, very rarely, to any, but to APOSTLES onely: — The LORD JESUS, I say, the night after the APOSTLE had been before the *sanhedrim*) appeared to him in a *vision*, and said: “Bear up with chear-fulnesse and fortitude. For I will be thy protection; and do assure thee, that thou shalt not lose thy life, here. But, as thou hast bravely bore testimony to me, and my doctrine, in *Jerusalem*, the *metropolis* of *Judæa*; thou shalt also testifie of me, at *Rome* itself; the *seat* of empire, and *metropolis* of the world!” This might be one principal reason, why he afterwards appealed to *Cæsar*, when he was in so much danger of his life, among the malicious jews. After such a *vision*, he had the greatest reason to be satisfied, that no enemy could prevail against him, there. However; they did not desist from attempting it. For, early the next morning, above forty of the jews entered into a conspiracy, against the life of that holy and excellent man; binding themselves under a curse, if they eat or drank any thing, ’till they had killed PAUL. After they had agreed among themselves, they went to the chief-priests and elders, to acquaint them; saying: “We have entered into an oath, and bound ourselves under a solemn curse, that we will taste nothing, ’till we have slain PAUL. We, therefore, desire you to intimate it, to the *tribune*, as your own request, and the request of the whole *sanhedrim*, that PAUL may be brought down, to-morrow, from the castle of *Antonia*, to the hall where the *sanhedrim* meets; as if you

An. Christ.

59.

Nero. 5.

Book III.

Ch. VIII.

Sect. IV.

Acts

xxiii. II,

¶



An. Christ. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. IV. Acts xxiii. 15. &c.

“ were going to have him examined more narrowly. And we, as soon as ever he cometh out of the *castle*, and before he cometh nigh you, are resolved, and ready, to kill him.” [For they thought, that, by killing the *disciples* of JESUS, they would do GOD great service.] This conspiracy was not carried on, so secretly, but PAUL’s sister’s son got notice of it; who went, immediately; and told his uncle of the danger that he was in. Upon which, the APOSTLE (like a man of sense and business) was undaunted; and composed enough to take proper measures for his own safety. And would not neglect the most likely means; notwithstanding CHRIST had, in a *vision*, assured him, that he should escape, from *Jerusalem*, with his life. He called to one of the *centurions* of the garrison, and desired him to introduce that young man to the *tribune*, as one, who had a matter of some importance to communicate. The *centurion*, accordingly, introduced him; acquainting *Lyfias*, that it was at the request of the prisoner, PAUL; who said, that the young man had something of moment to impart unto him. *Lyfias*, who, in this whole affair, acted like a man of great wisdom and integrity, took the young man by the hand, and conducted him to a private place, where they could not be over-heard. And then he asked him, “ What he wanted with him ?” The young man informed him, of the conspiracy against the life of his prisoner; and added; “ They have agreed to petition you, to bring him down, to-morrow, to their *sanhedrim*; under a pretence, that they want to examine him more exactly. But do not you comply with their request. For there lie in wait, for him, above forty men; who have bound themselves under a curse, that they will not eat, nor drink, any thing, ’till they have killed PAUL. And they are, even now, ready to execute their wicked designs; and are in expectation of a promise from you, that he shall appear again, before the *sanhedrim*.” The *tribune* charged the young man not to tell any body, that he had made this discovery: and so dismissed him. For he was unwilling needlessly to irritate the *factious jews*. And yet he was accountable for the life of his prisoner; especially after such an information. Moreover; he might, possibly, be still under some uneasie apprehensions; because he had ordered a *free roman* to be bound, and examined by torture.

When the young man was departed, *Lyfias* immediately called for two *centurions*; and ordered them to make ready the two hundred foot soldiers, under their command. And he farther gave orders, for seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen, to set out, along with



with the two companies of foot, about nine a-clock in the evening; and to provide an horse, or some other beast of burthen, for PAUL to ride upon, to *Cæsarea*. And all this strength, and secrecy of travelling, was designed, either to elude the conspirators; or to resist them, if there was occasion: that they might conduct him safe to *Cæsarea*; and deliver him into the hands of *Felix*, the governor. And he wrote a letter, and sent by them; which was to this effect: “*Claudius Lysias* sendeth all proper respect, and salutation, to the most excellent governor, *Felix*. The occasion of my present writing, is this. The prisoner, whom I send along with this letter, was apprehended, by the *jews*; and was in danger of his life, among them; ’till I came, with my soldiers, and rescued him. Since which, I have been informed, that he is a *free roman*<sup>a</sup>. And, when I was desirous to know, what they had to lay to his charge, I brought him before their *sanhedrim*. But I could not, from all that they alleged, perceive that he was guilty of any breach of the *roman law*. They charged him, indeed, with the breach of their *laws*, as to some rites and opinions of their own; but they could prove nothing against him, deserving death, or so much as imprisonment. However; being informed that they had conspired his death; to prevent their executing their purpose, I have immediately sent him away to you. And I will order his accusers to come; that they may (according to the *roman law*) allege, face to face, before you, what they have to say against him. *Adieu*.”

Then the soldiers, according to *Lysias* his order, took PAUL; and conducted him, by night, to *Antipatris*. It had formerly been called *Caphar Salama*<sup>b</sup>. But *Herod the great* rebuilt it; and called it *Antipatris*, from the name of his father, *Antipater*. The next day, they thought the APOSTLE pretty much out of danger. And, therefore, the two companies of soldiers returned to *Jerusalem*, to the tower of *Antonia*; but the horsemen went on, and conducted PAUL to *Cæsarea*. And, delivering the letter to *Felix*; they, along with it, presented the prisoner. When the governor had read the letter, he asked, “Of what province he was?” And, being told that he was of *Cilicia*; “I will hear you (said he) what you have to say, when your accusers are come.” And, in the mean while, he ordered him to be kept, in custody, in the *prætorium*, or *judgement-hall*; built by *Herod the great*, when he rebuilt, and enlarged, *Cæsarea*.

C H A P.

Ver. 27.<sup>a</sup> See Dr. Lardner’s credibility of the gospel-history, part I. p. 144, &c. third edition.

Ver. 31.<sup>b</sup> See 1 Maccab. vii. 31. or (according to Reland) *capharsaba*. See Reland’s *palæstina sacra*, p. 455; 570.

An. Christ.  
59.  
Nero. 5.  
Book III.  
Ch. VIII.  
Sect. IV.  
Acts  
xxiii. 23.  
&c.



An. Christ.

59.  
Nero. 5.

Book III.

Ch. VIII.

Sect. V.

Acts

xxiv. 1.

Ec.

## C H A P. VIII. S E C T. V.

*Some of the sanhedrim appear against St. PAUL, before Felix, at Cæsarea. Tertullus his accusation. The APOSTLE's defence. Felix remains undetermined. Acts xxiv. 1,—23.*

WE have already given the character of *Felix*; who (though he cleared the country of some *impostors* and *robbers*) was guilty of a great deal of male-administration; had barbarously and ungratefully murdered *Jonathan*, the *high-priest*; and now lived in an adulterous commerce with *Drusilla*. By whom he had a son, named *Agrippa*; who, during the reign of *Titus Vespasian*, was, in the prime of his youth, buried, together with his wife, under an eruption of *Vesuvius*, the famous *vulcano*, or burning mountain.—By these observations, taken from other *historians*, it will easily appear, how just an account St. LUKE hath given us, of *Felix* his whole behavior towards the APOSTLE.

Five days after St. PAUL's arrivel at *Cæsarea*, the *high priest*, *Ananias*, went down thither, in person, from *Jerusalem*; together with some other of the *sanhedrim*; takeing, along with them, one *Tertullus*, an *advocate*, or *roman orator*; who understood the *roman language*, and the forms of addresse, and who was to lay St. PAUL's crimes before the *governor*, *Felix*<sup>a</sup>. Upon the APOSTLE's being brought into the court, *Tertullus* set himself to accuse him, with great vehemence; begining *his speech*, with some flattering complements to the *governor*; and ending it, with false accusations of St. PAUL, the prisoner. “Seeing that, under you, we enjoy much “peace and tranquillity; and, by your prudence, many things have “been rectified, and many great and illustrious undertakings have “been

Ver. 1. <sup>a</sup> ὅστις ἐνεφανίσεν is the reading of the *syriac* and *arabic versions*. [Vid. Mill.] And ought, I think, to be preferred to the common reading. For ἐνεφανίζω signifieth, properly, to *accuse*, or *lay open a crime*. Which was the part of *Tertullus*; and not of the *high-priest*, and *elders*. [See *Beza*, *Grotius*, *Pricæus*; and, more especially, *Le Clerc*.]



“been happily accomplished, unto this nation: We, with great  
 “gratitude, accept of such favors, *most excellent Felix!* at all times,  
 “and in all places. I could easily enlarge upon your prudence, and  
 “other virtues; and upon the blessings of your wise government.  
 “But, for fear of giving you uneasiness, and trespassing upon your  
 “time and patience, I will proceed directly to the matter in hand;  
 “and I hope that you, according to your known goodness and hu-  
 “manity, and with your usual candor, will hear me, whilst I  
 “briefly lay the crimes of the prisoner before you. We have found  
 “this man to be a most pestilent fellow; and one, who has raised  
 “seditions and tumults, among all the *jews*, throughout the *roman*  
 “*empire*. For he is a ring-leader of the *heresie* of the *nazarenes*.  
 “And he lately made an attempt to profane the *holy temple*, at *Jeru-*  
 “*salem*; by bringing an *uncircumcised gentile* into the court of the *Is-*  
 “*raelites*. Upon these, and such like, accounts, we apprehended  
 “him; designing to have judged him according to our law; that  
 “is, the *jewish law*<sup>b</sup>. But the *tribune, Lysias*, came; and, by an  
 “armed force, with great violence, took him out of our hands; or-  
 “dering his accusers to appear before you. And we do not doubt,  
 “Sir, but that, upon examination, you will find him guilty of every  
 “thing, which we have laid to his charge.” When *Tertullus* had  
 done speaking, the *high-priest* and *elders*, from the *sanhedrim*, con-  
 firmed the account; assuring *Felix*, “that that was the truth of the  
 case.”

By the *roman law*, both parties were to be heard, before sentence  
 was past. When, therefore, the *governor* had, by nodding, given  
 the signal, for *PAUL* to speak; though he had not one friend in the  
 court, yet, in an undaunted and composed manner, he spake as fol-  
 lows. “Seeing I know that you (Sir) have been, for several years,  
 “a governor over this province; and, consequently, must be ac-  
 “quainted with the humors, interests, sects, and divisions of it; I do  
 “the more cheerfully make my *apology*, before you; in answer to  
 “the crimes now laid to my charge. For you must needs have heard  
 “of *christianity*; and understand more of the *jewish laws*, and of  
 “their

*Ver, 6. b* *Tertullus* glossed over a tumultuous attempt upon *St. PAUL*’s life, with  
 the plausible pretence of their designing to judge him according to *their law*. And he  
 calls *Lysias* his just care of the life of a man, ready to be torne in pieces, by a mob,  
 [a taking him, with great violence, out of their hands.] Not to mention, that the  
 very introduction to his speech, was a flattering an unjust and tyrannical governor;  
 who had, indeed, destroyed a few robbers and impostors; but was, in reality, him-  
 self, a public evil. And, take him in his whole character, he deserved no such  
 complements.

An. Christ.

59.

Nero. 5.

Book III.

Ch. VIII.

Sect. V.

Acts

xxiv. 3.

&c.



An. Christ. " their *prophecies* and *expectations*, than *Lysias*, who sent me hither,  
 59. " seems to do. And you may easily have sufficient information, that  
 Nero. 5. " it is now onely twelve days, since I went up to *Jerusalem*, to wor-  
 Book III. " ship GOD there; to which, as a *jew*, I have a right, as well as  
 Ch. VIII. " any of my accusers. But, though I went to worship, in the *tem-*  
 Sect. V. " ple; yet they never found me disputeing there, with any man.  
 Acts " No! nor makeing any tumult, among the people, in any of their  
 xxiv. 10, " *synagogues*, or in the city *Jerusalem*. And, in one word, they  
 &c. " are not able to prove what they have now alleged against me.  
 " But, as to their chargeing me with being an *hæretic*, and a *naza-*  
 " *rene*; this I freely confesse unto you, that, according to the way,  
 " which they call *hæresie*, so worship I the same GOD, which my  
 " forefathers worshiped; and which the *jews* continue to worship:  
 " firmly believeing all things, that are writen, both in the *law* of  
 " *Moses*, and in the *prophets*; and expecting, that, in due time,  
 " there will be a full accomplishment of whatsoever is there prædict-  
 " ed; (except what has been accomplished already:)—particularly,  
 " such things as concern the comeing of the *messiah*, and of *his king-*  
 " *dom*. And, I trust in GOD, that there will be a *resurrection from*  
 " *the dead*, both of the good, and of the wicked. Which is nothing  
 " but what the *jews*, in general, professe to expect. But, as I have  
 " such a firm expectation of the resurrection of the just, and tremble  
 " at the thoughts of riseing among the wicked; I make it the princi-  
 " pal care, and study, of my life, to preserve my conscience void of  
 " offence, both towards GOD, and towards man. After many years  
 " absence, I came, lately, to *Jerusalem*; to bring alms and charity,  
 " to some of the poor of my own nation; as well as to make oblati-  
 " ons, at the temple. And, though some of the *jews* of *Asia pro-*  
 " *pria* found me purifying myself, in the *second court* of the *temple*,  
 " after the manner of a *nazarite*; yet I had not brought any *uncir-*  
 " *cumcised gentile* into that court; nor was I attended with a multi-  
 " tude of *jews*; neither did I any thing, towards makeing a tumult  
 " among the people. Those *Asian jews*, who apprehended me,  
 " and brought me into all this trouble, ought to have been here;  
 " and to have accused me, face to face; if they had had any thing to  
 " allege

Ver. 18. c If the APOSTLE had disturbed other people, in their religious worship, whether *jews* or *gentiles*;—invaded their civil rights;—or made any tumult, sedition, or insurrection;—the *roman law* would have condemned him. But, as there were already several *sects* among the *jews*; the *christians* might (as a *new sect*) differ from them all; and yet remain under the protection of the *roman law*. [See Dr. Lardner's *credibility*, &c. part I. p. 250, second edition. p. 423. third edition.]



“allege against me. But it is a plane evidence of my being inno-  
 cent, and that they had acted illegally; when they, who first ap-  
 prehended and accused me, have not appeared against me. But,  
 as they have thought fit to decline coming before you; let the  
 persons, who appear against me, declare, honestly, and with in-  
 tegrity, what crimes they have found in me. Unless they account  
 it a crime, that (whilest I stood before the *sanhedrim*) I declared  
 aloud my belief of the *resurrection of the dead*. And, for that,  
 and other such important doctrines, I am now called to an ac-  
 count<sup>d</sup>.”

An. Christ.  
 59.  
 Nero. 5.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VIII.  
 Sect. V.  
 Acts  
 xxiv. 20,  
 &c.

Thus *Felix* gave both sides an hearing. But, being willing to in-  
 form himself farther, concerning the *christian religion*; and desirous  
 to know what new light the *tribune* could yet give him, as to the  
 facts; he deferred the determination, to another opportunity: telling  
 them, that, “when *Lyfias* came down to *Cæsarea*, he would inquire  
 of him, and endeavor to know the case, more fully.” And he  
 ordered a *centurion*, or the captain of an hundred soldiers, to take  
 PAUL into his custody; but to keep him as a prisoner at large.  
 For he bade him let him have as much liberty as he could, without  
 suffering him to escape; and charged him not to hinder any of the  
*christians*, or of his other friends, from coming to him, and assist-  
 ing him, as much as they pleased.

While PAUL was at *Cæsarea*, at this time, there happened a  
 dreadful quarrel, between the *jews* and the *syrians* of *Cæsarea*, about  
 their title to the rights and privileges of that city. The *jews* plead-  
 ing, that they ought to have the preference; because it was built by  
 their king, namely, *Herod the great*. And the *gentiles* claimed it for  
 their city; because it had formerly been called *Straton's tower*. And  
 then no *jew* had any settlement in it. Besides; it had *heathen*  
 temples and statues in it; which the *jews* would never permit, in  
 one of their cities. From words, they came to blows. And,  
 though some of them were taken up, and punished; yet the rest  
 did not desist, but rather more fiercely maintained the quarrel. At  
 length, the *jews*, having had the better in a combat, *Felix*,  
 coming into the market-place, required them to withdraw peace-  
 ably;

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ably;

*Ver. 21.*<sup>d</sup> When St. PAUL saith, here, that they found no *ἀδίκημα*, in him, when he  
 stood before the *sanhedrim*; he refers onely to the main accusation; [namely, his  
 preaching christianity, and, particularly, CHRIST's resurrection from the dead.]  
 He seems to have no reference to his answer to the high-priest; which happened mere-  
 ly as an incidental thing. [See chap. xxiii. 1, &c.] and was not *ἀδίκημα*, a crime,  
 cognizeable by the *roman law*.



ably; threatening them severely, if they did not. When they disregarded that order, he sent in his soldiers among them; who slew several, upon the spot; and, afterwards, plundered their houses. And, when that did not intirely quell them; he sent some of the leading men, on both sides, to *Rome*; to give an account of that sedition, before *Nero*, the emperor, himself.

• Joseph. de bell. jud. l. 2. c. 13. § 7. Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 7.

## C H A P. VIII. S E C T. VI.

*The APOSTLE, dureing his confinement at Cæsarea, preacheth the gospel, before Felix and Drusilla. After two years, Felix was turned out of the government; but left St. PAUL in custody. Acts xxiv. 24, to the end of that chapter.*

An. Christ.  
60.  
Nero. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. VIII.  
Sect. VI.  
Acts  
xxiv. 24,  
&c. **F**ELIX, and his wife *Drusilla*, who was a *jewesse*, and with whom he lived in such an adulterous commerce, had gone from *Cæsarea*; and had been absent, for some time. But, after their return to the city, they took it into their heads, one day, dureing the APOSTLE's confinement, at *Cæsarea*, to send for him; that they might hear him give an account of the *christian religion*; which then made so great a noise in the world; and which had spread so far and wide, by his preaching, more particularly. And St. PAUL (who knew the character, as well as quality, of his hearers) discoursed, before them, concerning the necessity of *justice* and *temperance*, or *chastity*; and inforced his doctrine, by the powerful and tremendous argument of a judgement to come<sup>a</sup>:—doctrines, which his excellence had not been used to! and which awakened his conscience, so dreadfully, as to make him tremble, and fall into a sudden and great disorder, before his prisoner: so that he could not bear it, nor suffer the APOSTLE to procede.—“Leave off your discourse now, (said he) and go your way, for the present. When I have a more convenient opportunity,

<sup>a</sup> Ver. 25. This was St. PAUL's preaching CHRIST; or the faith of CHRIST. [See ver. 24.]



"portunity, I will send for you again, and hear you farther." But it doeth not appear that ever he sent for him, to hear him, again, upon that subject. An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6.

There is no intimation of *Drusilla's* discovering any remorse. It has been conjectured, "that she confided in her *jewish* privileges; and expected to be saved, as a *daughter of Abraham*; notwithstanding the immorality and wickedness of her life." And, considering the temper of the *jews*, about this time; the conjecture is, by no means, improbable. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VI. Acts xxiv. 25. &c.

As to *Felix*; he did, indeed, send for *PAUL*; and frequently converse with him, upon another account; *that is*, he hoped the *APOSTLE* would have given him money, and bought his release. For, as he had mentioned his bringing *alms* to the *jews*, and *oblations*; *Felix* might think, that that charity was not all distributed. Or, as *St. PAUL* was at the head of so numerous a *sect*, as the *christians* then were; he reckoned him a person of consequence, who had good friends; and one, that was likely enough to raise a large sum, to procure his liberty. But the *APOSTLE*, not being used to give bribes, continued in bonds, for two years. For, though a *roman citizen* might not be bound with thongs, by way of punishment, or in order to be scourged; yet he might be chained to a soldier, and kept in custody, upon just suspicions, or when credible accusations were brought against him<sup>b</sup>. Though *St. PAUL* was, indeed, detained unjustly.

After the *APOSTLE* had been two years in custody, *Felix* was turned out of the government; and was succeeded by *Porcius Festus*<sup>c</sup>. But *Felix* had behaved himself in so unjust and arbitrary a manner, during his administration, that he was afraid the *jews* would accuse him to *Nero*. In order, therefore, to appease and gratify them, he left this friendless, good man, still in custody: (just as *Pilate* behaved, when he delivered up *OUR LORD* to be crucified.) But his base treatment of the *APOSTLE* did not prevent what he feared. For some of the leading men, among the *jews*, (who resented *Felix* his punishing them, in a manner, which they accounted cruel and unjust; upon occasion of the late quarrel, between them and the *gentiles* of *Cæsarea*) posted, after him, to *Rome*; and laid such things to his charge, as that they would have prevailed with the *emperor* to

I i 2

have

Ver. 26. <sup>b</sup> See Dr. Lardner's *credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 305, &c. second edition. p. 519. third edition.  
Ver. 27. <sup>c</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 9. De bell. l. 2. c. 14. § 1.



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VII. Acts xxv. 1, &c. have put him to death; had it not been for the powerful intercession of his brother, *Pallas*; who was then in favor with *Nero*; and who, by his interest, procured his brother's pardon<sup>d</sup>. When the persons, deputed both from the *jews* and *gentiles* of *Cæsarea*, came to *Rome*, according to *Josephus*; the *jewish* ambassadors were likely to have succeeded, and gained their point; had not the ambassadors of the *gentiles* bribed *Burrus*, who had been *Nero's* tutor, and was then his *greek* secretary. And, by his influence, he procured letters, from the emperor, to abolish the rights and privileges of the *jews*, in the city of *Cæsarea*; which they had, 'till then, enjoyed in common with the *gentiles*. This exasperated the *Cæsarean jews*, so much, that they would never be quiet; 'till their factions ended in *that war*, which so dreadfully destroyed the *jewish nation*.

<sup>d</sup> That *Pallas* was in favor with *Nero*, in the sixth year of the reign of that emperor; see bishop *Pearson's annal. paulin.* p. 17, &c.

## C H A P. VIII. S E C T. VII.

*Some of the sanhedrim went down to Cæsarea, to accuse St. PAUL, before Festus. When Festus would have sent him back to Jerusalem, he appealed to Cæsar. Acts XXV. 1,—12.*

*Cæsarea* was the place, where the *roman præfidents* usually resided. And, when *Festus* came to the province<sup>a</sup>, in order to take the government upon him; after three days, he went up, from *Cæsarea*, to *Jerusalem*; where the chief-priests<sup>b</sup>, and the leading men among the *jews*, (whom time and consideration had not softened) still retained their malice against the APOSTLE. And, possibly, the more so; as they had, hitherto, been so frequently disappointed. They, therefore, applied to the new governor; and inveighed bitterly

Ver. 1. <sup>a</sup> Ἐπαρχία. See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 92. second edition. p. 162. third edition.

Ver. 2. <sup>b</sup> The antient manuscripts and versions, of greatest authority, read οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς. [See Dr. *Mill.*]



terly against the excellent man; begging it, as a favor, of *Festus*, upon his accession, that he would send *PAUL*, to *Jerusalem*, under the pretence of having him tried there. But they, in reality, designed to procure ruffians; who should lie in wait for him, and murder him, upon the road.

Aa. Christ.  
60.  
Nero. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. VIII.  
Sect. VII.  
Acts xxv.  
3, &c.

It may seem strange to us, at the first view, that the *jews* should dare to raise such frequent tumults, and commit murders, upon whom they please; when there was a *roman præfident*, and such a number of *roman soldiers*, among them. But *St. LUKE* appeareth evidently to have known the state of affairs, in *Judæa*, about this time<sup>c</sup>. And *Josephus* hath given us several instances, and observations, which will abundantly confirm what *St. LUKE* hath said. For, about this time, *king Agrippa* gave the *high-priesthood* to *Ishmael*, the son of *Phabus*; (who succeeded that *Jonathan*, whom *Felix* had got assassinated.)—And, soon after, the chief-priests began to quarrel with the inferior priests. The leading men, on both sides, gathering a company of desperate and profligate fellows. They came, from reproaches, to blows; and threw stones at one another: raising such tumults, that one would have thought, there had been no magistrate, to preserve the peace of the city. Nay; the chief-priests proceeded to that height of cruelty and injustice, as to send their servants to the barns, [or *store-houses*,] to take away the tithes, which belonged to the inferior priests. And they so far ingrossed all to themselves, that some of the inferior priests perished, through hunger and want<sup>d</sup>.

The *ficarii* also, who sprang up in the days of *Felix*, were much increased in strength and number, when *Festus* came to the province; so that the land of *Judæa*, in general, was harrassed by them<sup>e</sup>. For, while the *robbers* began to appear again, and to burn and plunder many of the villages; the *ficarii* appeared in the city, and committed incredible slaughters; especially at the festivals. Nor did they always do mischief, secretly, and with their private daggers; but they also would, sometimes, imitate the *robbers*; and break into the villages, where they supposed their enemies lived; setting them on fire, and carrying away their goods, as plunder.

Can any one, who carefully and impartially considereth these things, doubt of the justness of *St. LUKE*'s account, when he represents the *jews*, as designing to procure men to lie in wait, and murder

<sup>c</sup> Ver. 3. See *Dr. Lardner's credibility*, &c. part I. p. 281, &c. second edition. p. 439, &c. third edition.

<sup>d</sup> *Joseph. antiq.* l. 20. c. 8. § 8.

<sup>e</sup> *Joseph. antiq.* l. 20. c. 8. § 10.



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VII. Acts xxv. 4. &c. murder St. PAUL; upon the road, between *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*? No! the forty conspirators, who had entered into a combination, to murder him, at *Jerusalem*; and the secret design, which was now laid, to assassinate him, upon the road, if *Festus* would have sent him to *Jerusalem*, again; are exactly agreeable to the character of the *jews*, and the state of *Judæa*, at this time: as they are represented, by *Josephus*, a *jewish historian*; who was, himself, one of *their priests*; and was now above twenty years old. So that he was personally acquainted with the state of the nation; and was too fond of saying things in their favor, to have given us such a representation; if the facts had not been too flagrant, and too notorious, to have been concealed.

Though the chief priests, and leading men of *Jerusalem*, begged it as a favor, that PAUL might be sent back, to them, from *Cæsarea*; *Festus* refused to gratify them. Possibly, he might have had some information of their former designs; and of the reason why *Lysias* sent the APOSTLE, with such strength and secrecy, to *Cæsarea*. But, whether he did, or did not, suspect their designs; upon the life of his prisoner; he answered: "As PAUL is in custody, at *Cæsarea*; and I myself design, shortly, to return thither; it would be much better for such of you, as are his accusers, and can go with convenience, to go down along with me, and appear against him, at *Cæsarea*; if he hath actually been guilty of any breach of the *roman law*, for which he deserves punishment." [So much more just and merciful were the *roman governors*, than the *jews*, of that age; who were fallen into an amazing degeneracy, and filling up the measure of their iniquity, 'till at last they became ripe for vengeance!] When *Festus* had tarried, about ten days, at *Jerusalem*, he returned to *Cæsarea*; and several of the leading men of the *jews*, of *Jerusalem*, along with him. The day after their arriveal, he (as willing to gratify them, by dispatching the affair) summoned a court. And, when he had seated himself upon the tribunal, and the *Jerusalem jews* were standing round about him, he commanded the APOSTLE to be brought before him. As soon as he appeared at the bar, his old enemies began, with great malice and virulence, to accuse him; laying many and aggravated crimes to his charge. But they could not prove what they alleged against him. And so he told them, when the governor allowed him, in his turn, to make his defence: "Whatever you may allege, (said he,) I am guilty of no crime, against the *jews*, or against the temple, or against *Cæsar*, the *roman emperor*." Upon this, *Festus*, the governor, (who was unwilling to



to send him to *Jerusalem*, without his own consent ; and yet willing to oblige the *jews*, as much as he lawfully could) asked PAUL :  
 " Seeing you know that you are innocent ; will you consent to go up  
 " to *Jerusalem* ; and there be tried, before me, concerning the  
 " things, which the *jews* lay to your charge ?" The APOSTLE  
 knew his own rights and privileges, as a *free roman* ; and was too  
 well apprized of the treachery and malice of the *jews*, to consent to  
 any such thing ; and therefore answered : " I am now standing be-  
 " fore Cæsar's tribunal<sup>f</sup>, where I ought to be judged. To the *jews*  
 " I have done no wrong ; as you yourself must know very well. If  
 " I have, indeed, been guilty of any crime ; let me be fairly tried, and  
 " punished for it. And, if I be found guilty of any capital crime ;  
 " I refuse not to satisfy the *law*, with my death. But, if there be  
 " no truth in their accusations, as I am well assured there is none ; no  
 " man can lawfully deliver me into their hands, so as to gratify them,  
 " with my death. I appeal unto Cæsar."—For those, who had the  
*freedom* of the city of Rome, had the privilege of appealing to the  
*emperor*, before sentence was past upon them ; if they apprehended  
 that justice would not, otherwise, be done them<sup>g</sup>. And, after such  
 an appeal, they were to be reserved to be judged by the *emperor*  
 himself.

St. PAUL, indeed, doeth not appear to have absolutely appealed  
 to Cæsar ; but onely conditionally ; *that is*, rather than be sent to  
*Jerusalem*, again, (as *Festus* had proposed) he claimed his privilege,  
 and insisted upon being heard, before Cæsar. And, because the ap-  
 peal was onely conditional ; *Festus* conferred with his own roman coun-  
 cil,

Ver. 10. <sup>f</sup> Grotius quoteth the following words, from *Ulpian* ; l. 1. D. de officio pro-  
 curatoris Cæsaris. " Quæ acta gestaque sunt a procuratore Cæsaris, sic ab eo com-  
 " probantur, atque si a Cæsare gesta sunt. Those things, which are acted, and  
 " done, by Cæsar's procurator, are so approved of him, as if they had been done by  
 " Cæsar himself." So that, when St. PAUL was standing, before *Festus*, the pro-  
 curator of that province ; he might, very justly, be said to be standing before Cæsar's  
 tribunal.

Ver. 11. <sup>g</sup> " Ante sententiam appellari potest, in criminali negotio ; si [scil. judex]  
 " contra leges hoc faciat. Before the sentence be past, in criminal cases, they may  
 " appeal to Cæsar ; if the judge act contrary to the laws." L. ante D. de appella-  
 " tionibus recipiendis. [Vid. Grot. in loc.]

" Lege Julia de re publicâ condemnatur, qui aliquâ potestate præditus ; civem ro-  
 " manum ad imperatorem appellantem, necarit, necarive jusserit, torserit, verbera-  
 " verit, in publica vincula duci jusserit." By the *Julian law*, any person in power  
 " is guilty of open violence, or injustice ; if, when a roman citizen hath appealed to  
 " the emperor, he should kill him, or command him to be killed, torture, beat, or  
 " command him to be thrown into a common jail. Pauli Recept. Sentent. l. 5. tit.  
 26. Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel-history, part 1. p. 530, 531. third edition.

An. Christ.  
 60.  
 Nero. 6.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. VIII.  
 Sect. VII.  
 Acts xxv.  
 9, &c.



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxv. 13. *cil*, what he had best to do <sup>h</sup>. The result of which consultation, was, that he declared unto the APOSTLE ; " As you have appealed unto *Cæsar*, unto *Cæsar* you shall go." For he was afraid to condemn a person so innocent ; and yet very desirous to rid his hands of an affair, about which, the *jews* were so very troublesome ; and in which he was willing to gratify them so far, as not to acquit the APOSTLE, without farther examination ; though he could not legally condemn him.

Ver. 12. <sup>h</sup> See Dr. Lardner's *credibility*, &c. part I. p. 134, 135. second edition. p. 225. &c. third edition.

## C H A P. VIII.      S E C T. VIII.

*King Agrippa and Bernice went to visit Festus. He acquaints them with St. PAUL's case. The king being desirous to hear him, the APOSTLE is brought from the prison ; and made such an excellent defence, before them, that he gained the good will of that grand audience ; and almost converted king Agrippa to christianity. Acts xxv. 13,—xxvi. 32.*

**I** SUPPOSE the reader is already acquainted with the character of *king Agrippa the younger* ; that was son to *Herod Agrippa*, whose tragical death is related, *Acts* xiiith. He was in profession a *jew*, and had the power of the *temple*, and the sacred treasury ; and could likewise dispose of the *high-priesthood*, as he thought proper. As to *Bernice*, his sister : she was the eldest daughter of *Herod Agrippa* ; and had been contracted in her infancy, by *Claudius Cæsar*, to *Marc*, the son of *Alexander Lyfimachus*, the *alabarch*. But, he dying, before the marriage was consummated, her father married her to his own brother, *Herod*, king of *Chalcis* <sup>a</sup> ; though that was  
contrary

Ver. 13. <sup>a</sup> Joseph. antiq. l. 19. c. 5. § 1. & l. 20. c. 9. § 1.



contrary to the *law of Moses*. After his death, she went and lived with her brother *Agrippa*; with whom she was suspected of an incestuous commerce<sup>b</sup>. To wipe off that aspersions, she endeavored to marry again; offering herself to *Polemon*, king of *Cilicia*, upon condition that he would become a *profelyte of righteousness* to the *jewish religion*. *Polemon*, who had more regard to the riches, than to a lady of such a character, consented to be *circumcised*, and actually married her. But *Bernice* did not continue long with her husband; which occasioned his casting off the *jewish religion*. And, notwithstanding the scandal, which she had formerly lain under, she went and lived where she pleased: not onely continueing in the good graces of her brother *Agrippa*<sup>c</sup>; but, afterwards, insinuateing herself so far into the affections of *Titus Vespasian*, as to occasion much discourse. For she was a lady of great beauty, and very generous and liberal. Nay; she had even the prospect of being *empress*; had not the murmurs of the people of *Rome* prevented it<sup>d</sup>.

This *Agrippa the younger*, and his sister, *Bernice*, went down to *Cæsarea*, to congratulate *Festus*, upon his accession to the government of that province. And, when they had been there some days, *Festus*, among other discourse, acquainted the king with the case of the APOSTLE, "There is (said he) a man left in custody, by *Felix*; concerning whom, when I was at *Jerusalem*, the chief-priests and elders of the jews were very importunate, with me, to passe sentence upon him. To whom I answered, It is not the custom

<sup>b</sup> It is to this, I am satisfied, that the *satyrists* refers. I shall onely put down the english, from *Dryden*, and refer the learned reader to the original. *Juvenal*, sat. 6. ver. 154, &c.

" Rich chrystals of the rock she takes up there;  
 " Huge *Agate* vases, and old *China* ware.  
 " Then *Berenice's* ring her finger proves,  
 " More precious made by her incestuous loves.  
 " And infamously dear; a brother's bribe,  
 " Ev'n GOD's anointed, and of *Judah's* tribe:  
 " Where barefoot they approach the sacred shrine,  
 " And think it onely sin to feed on swine."

" The ring, that he here mentions, was of great value; and was given, by this *Agrippa*, to his sister *Bernice*. She wore it publicly; and thereby made their incestuous loves more talked of."

<sup>c</sup> Tacit. hist. l. 2. c. 2, & 81.

<sup>d</sup> Sueton. in Tit. c. 7. Dio ex Xiphilin. l. 66. p. 752. alias 753.



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxv. 16, &c.

“ of the *romans* to gratifie any with another man's destruction ;  
 “ especially, before the person accused have his accusers face to  
 “ face, and liberty to make his own defence ; that he may clear  
 “ himself of the crime, if he can<sup>e</sup>. When, therefore, his accu-  
 “ sers were come, from *Jerusalem*, to this city, I was willing to dis-  
 “ patch the affair. And, the very next day, I sate in judgment ;  
 “ and commanded the man to be brought before me. His accusers  
 “ were, indeed, very vehement. But they did not so much as al-  
 “ lege any rebellion, fraud, murther, or sedition, against him ;  
 “ nor any such crimes, as I supposed they would have laid to his  
 “ charge. But they put some questions to him, concerning *their*  
 “ *own religion*<sup>f</sup> ; and about one JESUS, (I think they called him,)  
 “ who was dead. But PAUL confidently affirmed that he was risen  
 “ again ; and that he is still alive<sup>g</sup>. And, because these were such  
 “ controversies, as I could not tell what to say to ; and was doubt-  
 “ ful, whether they came properly under my cognizeance ; or whe-  
 “ ther such *religious disputes* among the *jews* should not rather be re-  
 “ ferred to the *sanhedrim* ; I asked the prisoner, if he was willing  
 “ to go to *Jerusalem* ; and, there, be judged, concerning these  
 “ things ? But, he appealed to *our august emperor*, and insisted  
 “ upon his being heard before him. I, therefore, ordered him to  
 “ be kept in custody, 'till I should have an opportunity to send  
 “ him to *Cæsar*.”

King *Agrippa*, had, no doubt, frequently heard of CHRIST, and his *disciples* ; and remembered, very probably, his *father's* putting the APOSTLE JAMES to death ; and of the design, which he had, also, upon the life of PETER. And (though *Festus* was come lately into that country, and knew little of their opinions and customs ; yet the *king*) understood the *jewish* doctrines, disputes, and expectations ; and had heard frequent reports of the spreading of *christi- anity* ; notwithstanding his *father*, and the *jews* in general, had in- deavored to crush it. Nay ; it is not unlikely, but that he might be acquainted with the character of St. PAUL himself. For these,  
 or

Ver. 16. <sup>e</sup> Cic. in Verr. l. 4. c. 40, 41. & l. 5. c. 23 ; 109. See Dr. Lardner's credibility, &c. part 1. book 1. chap. 10. § 8.

Ver. 19. <sup>f</sup> See Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel history, as quoted in the note on Acts xvii. 22.

<sup>g</sup> From this, as well as many other places, in the ACTS of the APOSTLES, it is evident, that St. LUKE hath, generally, given us no more than the substance of the *speeches*. For there is nothing of this, related in the place, where he mentions what passed, when the APOSTLE made his *first apologie*, before the governor *Festus*.



or like reasons;—as *Herod Antipas* desired to see OUR LORD, of An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. whom he had heard so much; it is no wonder that *Agrippa* had the curiosity to see, and hear, the great APOSTLE of the gentiles. Accordingly; upon the information, which *Festus* had given him; *Agrippa* desired it, as a favor, that he might be permitted to hear him. To which, *Festus* readily replied: “Well, to-morrow you shall hear him.” The next day, *Agrippa*, with his sister *Bernice*, came to the *prætorium*, or judgement-hall, with a numerous and splendid retinue; making a most pompous and magnificent appearance. And, along with them, there came the *tribunes*, and other *roman officers*; and the principal persons of the city *Cæsarea*. And, when they were seated; *Festus* gave orders that PAUL should be brought. Who came presently, in his humble garb, and (as it should seem) with his chains on<sup>h</sup>. But, his inward integrity was more honorable, and of greater excellence, than all their external pomp and grandeur. When the prisoner appeared, *Festus* addressed himself to the audience, and said: “*King Agrippa*; and all you, who are here present; look upon this man! For this is the remarkable person, against whom, the body of the *jews*, both at *Jerusalem*, and here in *Cæsarea*, have interceded with me; desiring that I would put him to death; and crying out, with great vehemence, that he ought not to live any longer. But I declare, that, though I have examined him, I have not found that he hath done any thing, to deserve his being put to death. And, besides, as he hath appealed to *Cæsar*; I am determined to send him to *Rome*, as soon as I have an opportunity. But having, as yet, no certain proof of his being guilty of any crime against the *roman law*; I do not know, very well, what to write unto my sovereign lord. I have, therefore, brought him out, before this company; and especially before you, *king Agrippa*; that, by a fresh examination of the affair, before a person of such skill, both in the *jewish* and *roman laws*, I may the better know how to lay the accusation before the emperor. For, to me, it seems very absurd, to send a prisoner, without signifying the crimes, which are alleged against him.”—*Festus* knew very well the account, which *Felix* had left behind him; and the accusations of the leading men, among the *jews*, both at *Jerusalem* and *Cæsarea*. Yet he was at a loss, what to allege against the APOSTLE; because the *romans* had then no laws against the *christians*. They were, so far,

K k 2

Ver. 23. <sup>h</sup> See the second dissertation, annexed to the paraphrase and notes on *Philemon*; second edition.



An. Christ. far, looked upon as a *sect* of the *jews*. And, provided they in-  
 60. jured no man in their civil rights, nor made any sedition and dis-  
 Nero. 6. turbance in the state, they were protected by the *roman laws*. He  
 Book III. was, therefore, in hopes that king *Agrippa*, who understood the  
 Ch. VIII. *jewish* customs and privileges, would help him out of this difficul-  
 Sect. VIII. ty; and teach him how to form his charge against the prisoner, in  
 Acts xxvi. 1, so uncommon and remarkable a case.  
 &c.

St. PAUL's SPEECH before king *Agrippa*, *Bernice*, *Festus*, the *roman tribunes*, and the leading men of the city *Cæsarea*.

Then *Agrippa*, turning to the APOSTLE, said, " You have leave to speak for yourself." Upon which, he stretched forth his hand to the people, that they might keep silence; and then said: " I think  
 " it no small advantage to me, and my righteous cause, O king  
 " *Agrippa!* that I have this day an opportunity to speak for my-  
 " self, before a person of so much understanding and humanity;  
 " concerning all the crimes, which the *jews* lay to my charge;  
 " especially, seeing I know<sup>i</sup> you to be so well acquainted with all  
 " the *sects*, among the *jews*; and with their several opinions, ritual  
 " observations, customs, prophecies, and expectations. Wherefore,  
 " I desire you to hear me with patience and candor. I came to  
 " *Jerusalem*, in my youth; and was educated, in my own nation,  
 " at the feet of *Gamaliel*. And how I behaved there, the *jews*, in  
 " general, know very well; who have, indeed, known me from  
 " the beginning of my appearance in the world, and can testify (if  
 " they please) that, according to the strictest *sect* of our religion, I  
 " lived a *pharisee*. And now, I am called in question, for my  
 " hope in that great promise of a resurrection to eternal life, which  
 " GOD made unto our fathers. In the faith and hope of which  
 " promise's being accomplished, in due season, the *twelve tribes* of  
 " *Israel*

Ver. 3.<sup>i</sup> Εἰδὼς, or ἐπιστάμενος, [*knowing*,] is the reading, in some of the *antient manuscripts* and *versions*, mentioned by Dr. *Mill*; which reading is followed, in our common *english* version. However; several learned men have thought it an addition to the text; for which there is no occasion. What seems to have led some of the transcribers to have inserted such a word, was, that *οὗτος* and *γινώσκω* are of different cases. But, for a genitive case absolute, the *Attics* put the accusative absolute, without regarding what went before, or followed after.



“ *Israel*<sup>k</sup> intensely serve GOD, night and day.—And yet, for regard-  
 “ ing this promise, O *king Agrippa*, and hoping for it's being ac-  
 “ complished, I am accused, by the *jews*; as if I was the worst of  
 “ malefactors. They, indeed, expect a temporal *messiah*. But I  
 “ look upon *Jesus of Nazareth* to be the very person, described by  
 “ the prophets. And hold, that, as a most convinceing proof of  
 “ his being the *messiah*; he, on the third day, rose again from the  
 “ dead. What! do you deem it a thing incredible, that a GOD of  
 “ infinite power should raise the dead to life again? Or was it un-  
 “ becomeing the divine wisdom, to raise so extraordinary a person,  
 “ as *Jesus of Nazareth*? Concerning this last, you, perhaps, will  
 “ hesitate. Nay; I must own, that I once did think it my duty,  
 “ to do many things, in opposition to the name, or doctrine, of  
 “ that sacred person. Which I also did, even at *Jerusalem*. And  
 “ several of the *christians*, his followers, I shut up in prison; have-  
 “ ing received, from the chief-priests, power and authority, for that  
 “ very purpose. And, when some of them were put to death, I  
 “ freely gave my voice against them; joining with their bitterest  
 “ enemies, and heartily approveing of their being cut off. I fre-  
 “ quently punished others of them, in several of the *synagogues* of  
 “ the *jews*. And, by my severity to them, I compelled them to  
 “ blaspheme *Jesus*, and speak evil of *his doctrine*. Nay; being  
 “ outrageously mad against them, I persecuted them, beyond the  
 “ borders of *Judæa*, and into distant and strange cities.  
 “ You will, doubtlesse, be apt to inquire, how I came so very  
 “ much to alter my sentiments? But the reasons were strong;  
 “ and the evidences such as I dared not to resist. For, as I was go-  
 “ ing to *Damascus*, with authority and commission from the chief-  
 “ priests, to apprehend the *christians*, and carry as many of them,  
 “ as I could find there, in chains, to *Jerusalem*: about the mid-  
 “ dle of the day, O *king*! as I was almost entering the city, I saw  
 “ a light, which came down from heaven, and surrounded me and  
 “ my company. A light, which far exceeded the splendor of the  
 “ sun, even in his meridian brightnesse! So awful was the appear-  
 “ ence, that we all fell prostrate. And I, alone, heard a voice,  
 “ speak-

Ver. 7. \* Great numbers of the *ten tribes* returned, with the *two tribes* of *Judah*  
 and *Benjamin*, from the *Babylonish captivity*. [Ezra vi. 16, 17. and viii. 35. Luke  
 ii. 36.] And many of them, who did not return to the land of *Canaan*, did, never-  
 thelesse, entertain hopes of the coming of the *messiah*; and of a *resurrection*, and  
 future state of happinesse.

That great numbers of the 12 tribes were still in being, see the *history before the*  
*paraphrase and notes on St. James*, p. 14, &c.



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxvi. 14, &c.

speaking unto me, in the *hebrew* tongue, "*Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me* ; who am indued with such power, as will, if thou continuest to resist it, in the end, prove thy ruine ? For it is, in effect, like kicking against spikes." Upon that, I inquired, "Who art thou, LORD ! that I should be charged with persecuting thee ?" To which, the LORD replied : " I am JESUS of Nazareth ; whom thou persecutest, with so much zele and fury. For persecuting of my disciples, is, in effect, to persecute me. However ; arise, and stand upon thy feet. For I have made this glorious appearance, unto thee ; on purpose to constitute thee a minister, and a witnesse, both of the things, which thou hast now seen ; and of the things, about which I will, hereafter, appear unto thee. And, as I imploy thee, I will protect and deliver thee ; both from the people of the *jews*<sup>1</sup>, unto whom I now send thee ; and from the *gentiles*, unto whom I will hereafter send thee<sup>m</sup> : —to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness unto light ; and, from *idolatry*, and subjection to *satan*, unto the living and true GOD ; that, upon conforming to the *christian revelation*, they may receive a full remission of all their past sins ; and, at last, obtain the inheritance of eternal life, among

Ver. 17, <sup>1</sup> Beza mentions two manuscripts, and Dr. Mill adds the *syriac version*, which read τῶν Ἰουδαίων [*of the jews*,] after λαῶν [*the people*.] But, [*by the people*,] in the new testament, is, commonly, meant *the jews*. That, therefore, seems to be the true interpretation, though not the true reading.

<sup>m</sup> Instead of νῦν σε ἀποστέλλω, *I now send thee* ; some of the most antient and best manuscripts and versions, mentioned by Dr. Mill, leave out νῦν [*now* ;] and others read ἀποστέλλω, *I will send thee* : intimating that St. PAUL is here giving an account of CHRIST's glorious appearance to him, at his conversion to *christianity* ; when his apostleship to the gentile world was a future and distant event.

Some have thought, " that St. PAUL received his commission, to go and preach, directly, to the idolatrous gentiles, when he was converted to the christian faith, on the road to *Damascus*." But, if he then received a commission to go, directly, to preach to the idolatrous gentiles ; it seems strange that there should be no clear proof that he did so. That he should then receive his whole commission, in general terms, which were to be explained, afterwards, and gradually, is exactly agreeable to OUR LORD's giving the other APOSTLES, their commission, *Matt. x. 1, &c.* For there are several things, in that commission, relating to their second expedition ; which commenced after the death of OUR LORD, and the effusion of the spirit. For instance, what is said, *Matt. x. 18, &c.* And yet, the commission is introduced, as if it had related to their first expedition only ; namely, that which took place, before our LORD's death, when they went to the *jews*, in the land of *Israel* ; and to them alone. *Matt. x. 5, 6, 7.* [Compare *Matt. xxviii. 19.* and *Mark xvi. 15.* with *Acts x. 1, &c.*] This, together with the various reading, mentioned above, may induce us to think that, on the road to *Damascus*, St. PAUL might receive his commission at large. And that the particulars of it were opened afterwards, and at different times and places.



" mong such as are purified, by the same *gospel* method." After I An. Christ. 60.  
 " had received all these evidences of the resurrection of JESUS from Nero. 6.  
 " the dead, and of his present state of glory; and was fully con-  
 " vinced that he was the *promised messiah*; O king Agrippa, I was Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII.  
 " not disobedient to the directions, which I had received from the Acts xxvi. 18.  
 " heavenly glory": but immediately imbraced the *christian faith*, &c.  
 " myself; and preached it, as soon as I had opportunity, unto  
 " others: —First unto the *jews* at *Damascus*, and *Arabia*; then  
 " in *Jerusalem*, and through the whole country of *Judæa*; and,  
 " after that, to the *gentiles*: admonishing them to repent, and turn  
 " unto GOD; practising things becoming such a profession of re-  
 " pentance. These are my crimes! these the reasons, why the *jews*  
 " apprehended me, in the *temple*; and attempted, in a tumultuous  
 " manner, with their own hands, to take away my life! Since that,  
 " ruffians have laid in wait, to assassinate me. And such, indeed,  
 " has been the opposition, which I have met with, that it is, through  
 " the extraordinary favor and protection of GOD, that I am alive, at  
 " this day; to witnesse, both to persons of the lowest degree, and  
 " to persons of dignity and distinction, (such as those, before whom  
 " I now stand!) that the *messiah*, spoken of by *Daniel*<sup>o</sup>, was to suffer;  
 " and that he should be the first, who should rise again from the  
 " dead, never to die any more. And, that he should be a light to  
 " enlighten the *gentiles*, as well as the people of *Israel*<sup>p</sup>.

When St. PAUL had proceeded so far, in his *apologie*; Festus, who  
 had been, but a little while, the *procurator* of that province, and  
 who was very much unacquainted with the *jewish* and *christian*  
*religion*, cried out; "Certainly, PAUL, you are beside yourself!  
 " Your over-much learning hath turned your head, and brought on  
 " this unaccountable madnesse." To which the APOSTLE replied,  
 with the utmost decency and justnesse; "I am not mad, *most excel-*  
 " *lent Festus*! For what I speak is true, and proceeds from a sound  
 " mind. It is onely your unacquaintednesse with the sacred write-  
 " ings of the *jews*, and with what hath lately been done, towards  
 " planting *christianity* in the world, which makes these things appear  
 " so strange and unaccountable to you. They appear in a very dif-  
 " ferent light to the *king*, who very well understandeth such things;  
 " and before whom I, therefore, speak with the more freedom and  
 " plainnesse. For I am satisfied he must have heard of these  
 " things, once and again; because they have been made no secret  
 " of, nor were they transacted in a corner; but exposed to the pub-  
 " lic



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxvi. 26, &c.

“ lic notice and examination of mankind.” And then, addressing himself more particularly to the *king*, he said: “ O *king Agrippa!* give me leave to ask you: Do not you believe the *prædictions* of the *prophets*? But, why do I ask such a question? I know that you are a *professed jew*, and am fully persuaded that you do believe the *prædictions* of the *prophets*. Neither do I doubt of your capacity, to discern how exactly they are accomplished, in *JESUS of Nazareth*.” Upon which, *Agrippa* said unto *PAUL*; “ You almost persuade me to be a *christian*.” The *APOSTLE* replied, in the most benevolent and ingageing manner, and with great affection and earnestness: “ Would to *GOD*, that not onely you, O *king*; but also, all, that now hear me, were not onely almost, but altogether such as I am; except the misery and disgrace of these chains.” And, when he had said thus, the *king* rose up, and his sister *Bernice*, and all the company. But, the leading persons were so affected with *his apologie*, that they all agreed, he had done nothing to deserve death, or so much as imprisonment. And *king Agrippa*, in particular, (who was well acquainted with both the *jewish* and *roman laws*; and knew what was criminal, and what not) declared it, to *Festus*, as his opinion, that he ought to have been released, immediately; if he had not appealed to *Cæsar*. For, after an appeal to *Cæsar*, the judge, from whom he appealed, could no more absolve, than condemn, him. The whole affair was, after that, to be reserved to the cognizeance, and determination, of the *emperor*.

Ver. 29. 1 “ When I consider this *APOSTLE* as appearing, either before the witty *Athenians*, or before a *roman court of judicature*, in the presence of their great men and ladies; I see how handsomely he accommodateth himself to the apprehensions, and temper, of those politer people, &c.” *Lord Shaftsbury’s characteristics*, vol. I. p. 30.

*St. PAUL* is thought to have had his chain now wrapt about his own arm; and that he was not chained to a soldier, whilst he stood before this grand and numerous audience. [See the second dissertation, annexed to the paraphrase and notes on *Philemon*, second edition.]



## C H A P. IX.

*Some farther account of the reign of Nero; and of the affairs of the jews.*

*Seneca* and *Burrus* conspired together, and deposed *Agrippina*,  
 the mother of the emperor *Nero*, of the power, which she had  
 used, in so arbitrary and insolent a manner. [*Dio*, p. 689, &c.]  
 And, when they had got the power into their own hands, they ge-  
 nerally made a good use of it. Though, in some instances, they  
 are branded by the *antient historians*. And, particularly, *Seneca* is  
 blamed; from whom, a better behavior, and a more just and mer-  
 ciful administration, might have been expected; as he made so great  
 pretences to *moral philosophy*, and has so frequently recommended  
*justice* and *beneficence*. As for *Nero*, he did not much trouble his  
 head, about the affairs of government; but lived an idle, voluptuous  
 life. In which, *Seneca* and *Burrus* did not interrupt him: in  
 hopes he would leave affairs to their management, when he had so  
 many sensual gratifications. But they did not duly consider, what  
 a corruption of manners is occasioned by voluptuousness; and how  
 dangerous it might one day prove, not onely to themselves, but to  
 the *whole roman empire*. Nor were there wanting persons, among  
 the companions of his pleasures, who incited him to despise the con-  
 duct of his two prime ministers; and to account it glorious, for so  
 great an *emperor* as he was, to be under no controul.

We cannot draw his picture at full length, because his whole  
 reign doeth not come within the compass of *this period*. But, it  
 may give the reader some *idea* of him, to say that his debauchery  
 gradually increased; and led him into many and great extravagances.  
 And his extravagance occasioned his oppressing the people, with new  
 and heavy taxes; and his taking away the estates of many rich per-  
 sons, and the lives also of some of them.

*Agrippina*, being incensed at her being thrown down, on a sudden,  
 from the vast power, which she had so long enjoyed, threatened to  
 depose her son *Nero*, whom she had raised to the *empire*; and ex-  
 alt *Britannicus*, in his stead. Upon which, *Nero* took off the un-



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. happy young prince, by a strong dose of poison: pretending, indeed, that he died of the falling sicknesse; (to which he had been subject;) but the marks of the poison were too evident, to admit of such a pretence.

Book III.  
Ch. IX.  
Acts

xxvi. 32. The leudnesse, debauchery, and extravagance, of *this young tyrant*, made him much more resemble *Caligula*, than *Augustus*. And he now, indeed, began to form himself upon the model of *Caligula*. His chief favorite was *Otho*; a man of an infamous character, and of a disposition very like that of his master. To *Otho*, he gave *Poppæa Sabina* to wife. But the emperor was in love with her; and lived in as great familiarity with her, as *Otho* himself. There was an irreconcilable quarrel between *Poppæa* and *Agrippina*; which ended, at last, in *Agrippina's* destruction. For, after various attempts to poison her; and to murder her, by several other methods; *Nero* sent *Anicetus*, the captain of a ship, with two of his sailors, to put *his mother* to death. As soon as they entered the chamber, she guessed what they were come about. And, uncovering herself, she bade them "strike the womb, that had brought forth *Nero*." Upon which, one of them stunned her, by striking her, on the head, with a club. And the other two, drawing their swords, killed her with many wounds. When *Nero* heard that *his mother* was dead, he could not believe it, 'till he went to the place himself. And there, viewing her naked body, all over, very deliberately, he said: "I professe, I did not know that my mother was so handsome a woman." After that, he gave money among the guards, that they might be willing to obey him, in all his cruel and unjust orders; and accused *his mother* of many and great crimes; and, particularly, of conspiring against his life. In which, he said, she was discovered. And, therefore, as he gave it out, she had laid violent hands upon herself. And such was then the degeneracy of the *romans*, that they congratulated him, upon the death of *his mother*; as if it had been some mighty and glorious victory. But his own conscience was filled with the utmost horror. And, for a long time, he phansied that *his mother's ghost* was continually haunting him. However; he added the murder of *his aunt*, to that of *his mother*; though she was guilty of no crime, but expressed the greatest tenderness and affection for him. And, after her death, he suppressed her will, and seized upon her estate. He had often attempted to strangle his wife, *Octavia*. In which he could not succede. He, therefore, publicly divorced her. The people resenting it, that he treated her so cruelly, by whose means he had been advanced to the imperial



imperial dignity; and, chargeing him with ingratitude, he banished her, and afterwards put her to death; under a pretence of her frequent adulteries, of which she was intirely innocent. After he had divorced *Oetavia*, he took *Poppæa*, from *Otho*, and married her. But the rage of lust, cruelty, and extravagance, to which he at last arrived; and the miserable death, by which he ended his days, after he had reigned above thirteen years; do not come within the compasse of the *present history*. — He is, generally, thought to have exceded *Caligula*; and to have been so great a monster of vice and cruelty, that *his name* is become a *proverb*, for the worst of tyrants.

An. Christ.  
60.  
Nero. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. IX.  
Acts  
xxvi. 32.

We learn from *Josephus*, [antiq. jud. l. 20. c. 8. §. 10, &c.] that the affairs of the *jews*, about this time, were as follow. The *sicarii* had committed many cruel and illegal actions, in *Jerusalem*, and the neighboring country; being deluded by an *impostor*, who promised them deliverance, and an end of all their troubles, if they would follow him into the *desert*. But *Festus* sent out soldiers, against them; who slew both the *impostor*, and his deluded followers. This was a farther accomplishment of OUR SAVIOR'S *prædiction*, concerning the *false prophets*, who would appear, about this time.

King *Agrippa* had an house at *Jerusalem*, which joined to the *porticoe* of the tower of *Antonia*. That house he raised to a considerable height. By which mean, he had not onely a fine prospect of the city, but could, from his dineing-room, see all over the *courts of the temple*; that is, the *court of the priests*, where the *sacrifices* were offered, as well as the *two outer courts*. In this prospect, the *king* took great delight. But the leading men, among the *jews*, at *Jerusalem*, highly resented it, as an impious thing. For they reckoned it unlawful, for any, but the *priests*, to see what was done in the *innermost court*. They, therefore, ran up an high wall, at the extremity of the west-side of the *inner court of the temple*; whereby they not onely obstructed the *king's* view, from his dineing-room; but also the prospect from the *western porticoe*; where the *romans* used to keep guard, dureing the festivals, to prevent any disturbance in, or about, the *courts of the temple*. King *Agrippa* highly resented their building such a wall. And *Festus*, yet more: commanding them to pull it down again. But they desired he would give them leave to send ambassadors, to lay the matter before *Nero*. For they intimated, "that death was preferable to the seeing any part of the *temple* pulled down." *Festus*, so



An.Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32. far, granted their request. Upon which, they sent ten leading men to *Nero*; and, along with them, *Ismael* the high-priest, and *Helcias*, the keeper of the sacred treasury. When they came to *Rome*, they made interest with *Poppæa*, the wife of *Nero*. And, by her means, not onely obtained pardon for what they had done; but, that the wall, which they had built, should remain. The ten principal men, whom the *jews* had sent, upon that affair, were dismissed. But *Ismael* and *Helcias* were kept, as hostages for the good behavior of the *jews*. Upon which, king *Agrippa* gave the high-priesthood to *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabi*; son of *Simon*, who had formerly injoyed that dignity.

*Festus*, the procurator of *Judæa*, died. And *Nero* appointed *Albinus* to succede him. About the same time, king *Agrippa* deposed *Joseph*; and made *Ananus*, the son of *Ananus*, high-priest, in his stead. He was a *sadducee*, and a fierce and cruel man; as that sect were commonly reputed to be. And, though the *jews* had not the power in their own hands; he called a council of judges, from among the *jews*; and did many illegal things, before *Albinus* arrived in the province. Which greatly exasperated *Albinus*, and made *Agrippa* to depose him; after he had been high-priest, onely for three months. And that dignity was bestowed upon *Jesus*, the son of *Damnaeus*. But, when *Albinus* came to *Jerusalem*, *Ananus* made his peace with him, by giveing him large presents. And so the matter was dropt, and his illegal proceedings no farther inquired into. *Albinus*, upon his arriveal, indeavored to settle the province, as well as he could; particularly, by destroying a great number of the *sicarii*. *Ananias*, the son of *Nebedæus*, who had been high-priest, was a powerful man. And, by bribeing *Albinus*, and the present high-priest, arrived to yet greater wealth and power. For he had a set of wicked servants, who would join themselves to some of the most abandoned and desperate men; and go and plunder the barns of the inferior priests of their tithes; and beat such as opposed them. The other chief-priests, and their servants, did the like; when they saw that they might do it, with impunity. By which means, several of the inferior priests perished with hunger. The *sicarii* entered the city, by night, upon the approach of an high festival, and took alive *Eleazar's* secretary. He was the son of *Ananus*, the high-priest. And *Eleazar*, his master, was captain of the temple. When the *sicarii* had made him their prisoner, they would not release him; 'till *Albinus* had been prevailed upon, to release ten of the *sicarii*, whom he had in custody. After which, the



the *ficarii* were perpetually attempting to take some persons of consequence; that they might change them for some of their own fraternity.

About this time, there came to *Jerusalem*, out of the country, a poor man, called *Jesus*, the son of *Ananus*. And, though the city was now in profound peace, and abounded with plenty; he, at the *feast of tabernacles*, went up to the *temple*, and began to cry out, suddenly, "A voice from the east. A voice from the west. A voice from the four winds. A voice against *Jerusalem*, and the *temple*. A voice against bridegrooms and brides. A voice against all the people!" After which, he went, about every street of the city, crying out, in that manner, night and day. Some of the leading men among the *jews* took it ill, that he should utter such dreadful bodeings. They, therefore, laid hold of him, and beat him with many stripes. Whilest he said nothing, in his own defence, nor blamed those, who scourged him; but went on, repeating the same dismal words, as before. Upon which, the principal men, among the *jews*, suspecting that the man was inspired, carried him before *Albinus*, the *roman procurator*; who ordered him to be lashed, 'till his bones were bare. During which, he neither begged for mercy, nor shed any tears; but, at every stroke, cried, as loud as he could, and with a melancholy voice, "Woe, woe to *Jerusalem*!" *Albinus* asked him, "Who he was? and whence he came? and why he said such things?" But he would answer him nothing. He onely continued lamenting the city; 'till *Albinus* dismissed him, as thinking him mad. To the breaking out of the war, he never went to any of the citizens, neither was he seen talking to any body; but continued to repeat the same lamentation, "Woe, woe to *Jerusalem*!" He never spoke against any particular person; though he was daily beat, and abused. Neither did he speak well of such as gave him his food; but onely repeated the dire presage. He was observed to be loudest at the *festivals*. And, though he held it for seven years and five months, he was neither hoarse nor weary. Nor did he desist, 'till he saw his *prædictions* begun to be accomplished, by the siege of *Jerusalem*. For, after the *romans* had incompassed the city, he went upon the walls, and cried out, again, with a loud voice; "Woe, woe to the city, and the *temple*, and the people!" And at last he added, "Woe, also, to myself!" Which words were scarce uttered, before a stone, thrown from one of the *roman engines*, fell upon him, and put an end to his

An. Christ.  
60.  
Nero. 6.

Book III.  
Ch. IX.  
Acts  
xxvi. 32.



An. Christ. his life. [See *Josephus*, concerning the jewish war, book 6: chap. 5.  
<sup>60.</sup>  
 Nero. 6. § 3, 4.]

Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32. If *Josephus* his account may be depended upon; (And, indeed, one can hardly suspect that he would falsifie, in a thing, that was so public, and well known. And, supposing the account true;) his observations, concerning his being sent, as a *prophet*, or extraordinary messenger, from GOD, seem to be very just, and well-grounded. And it was, no doubt, a signal and loud warning of the approaching war; which ended in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the temple; and the most amazing desolation of a wicked people, that ever was heard of.

## C H A P. X.

*St. PAUL sets out upon his fourth apostolic journey: sails for Rome: takes the island Crete, in his way; is shipwreck'd, and cast upon the island Melita. When he arrived at Rome, he was confined there, in his own hired house, for two years. From thence, he wrote several epistles; received frequent messages, from distant places; and sent messages to several of the churches. Acts xxviii and xxviii chapters.*

## S E C T. I.

*The APOSTLE sails by several places: Is shipwreck'd, and cast upon the island Melita. Acts xxvii. 1, to the end of that chapter.*

**S**T. PAUL was not permitted to take *Antioch*, the metropolis of *Syria*, in his way, before he set out upon this fourth apostolic journey; as he had done, in the beginning of his three former journeys: because he was now a prisoner, and under the controul of others; and sent to *Rome*, at their charge, and according to their order.



order. And, when *Festus* had determined, in consequence of St. PAUL's appealing to *Cæsar*, to send him<sup>a</sup>, by sea, to *Italy*; he delivered the APOSTLE, and several other prisoners; who were, likewise, to be sent to *Rome*, to be heard, before the emperor; to the care of a *centurion*, or *roman captain*, with his hundred soldiers. The captain's name was *Julius*; who was (very probably) a freedman of the *Julian*, or *Cæsarean*, family. For freedmen had, commonly, the names of their masters, who gave them their freedom. He was *centurion* of a *cobort*, belonging to the legion called *Augustus* his legion. And, going on board a ship, which belonged to *Adramyttium*, one of the ports of *Mysia*, they set out, from *Cæsarea*; intending to sail by the coasts of *Asia minor*. Along with the APOSTLE, there went St. LUKE, the author of one of the four gospels, and of the ACTS of the APOSTLES. And *Aristarchus*<sup>b</sup>, the *Macedonian*, from the city of *Thessalonica*. He had gone, as one of the messengers of the churches, to carry the charitable collection, to *Jerusalem*. It is likely that he had followed St. PAUL, from *Jerusalem*, to *Cæsarea*; and now determined to accompany him, when he found that he was to be sent to *Rome*. And, sailing along the coasts of *Palæstine*, they came, the next day, to *Sidon*; which was a famous city, and mart town, of *Phœnicia*. There the captain, *Julius*, treated St. PAUL with great humanity; freely permitting him to visit the christians, or any other friends; and to receive any favor, which they pleased to show him. Loosening from *Sidon*, they sailed on the north-side of *Cyprus*; coasting it along, by the island, because the wind was against them. But, afterwards, sailing farther from the coast, over the sea<sup>c</sup>, which washed *Cilicia*, St. PAUL's native country; and *Pamphilia*, the adjacent region; they landed at *Myra*, (or *Limyra*), a city of *Lycia*. And the *centurion*, finding there a ship, which came from *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*; and which was carrying corne, and other goods, into *Italy*; he agreed with the master of the vessel, to take him, and all the company, aboard; and carry them into *Italy*. And, putting to sea, they sailed slowly, several

An. Christ.  
60.  
Nero. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. I.  
Acts  
xxvii. 1,  
&c.

Ver. 1. <sup>a</sup> Αἰδῶν, him, is expressed in the vulgar, syriac, and arabic, versions; and seemeth to have been the original reading. For *Festus* could not determine to send *Luke* and *Aristarchus*, St. PAUL's companions, thither. They were not his prisoners.

Ver. 2. <sup>b</sup> The vulgate reads, μενόντων σὺν ἡμῖν, &c. Perseverante nobiscum *Aristarcho*; [*Aristarchus* continuing with us:] intimating, that the other messengers of the churches, which came, with St. PAUL and St. LUKE, to *Jerusalem*, did not continue with them.

Ver. 5. <sup>c</sup> Τὸ τε πέλαγος, &c.



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. I. Acts xxvii. 7, &c. several days. And, when they were scarce come over against *Cnidus*, a city and promontory of *Doris*, in the peninsula of *Caria*; the wind being westerly, and not suffering them to steer a straight course, they sailed, under the island *Crete*, which is now called *Candie*, over against the city and promontory of *Salmone*. And haveing just past that, they came into a port of *Crete*; which was then (and is to this day) called *the Fair havens*. Not far from which, was, the city *Lasea*, or *Alassa*<sup>d</sup>.

St. LUKE hath said nothing of St. PAUL's preaching, in *Crete*, at this time. But, possibly, he might preach there. For (as we have had frequent occasion to observe) there are several instances of the APOSTLE's preaching at a place, upon his first coming thither. And yet St. LUKE, because of his designed brevity, hath thought fit to passe it over in silence. However; the APOSTLE doeth not seem to have had an opportunity to make many converts, in the island, at this time. For, though the captain, *Julius*, was a person of singular humanity, and gave him as much liberty as he could; yet the *Fair havens*, and the city *Alassa*, were all the places, that he could now go to; because their stay here was but short.

Haveing spent so long a time, in sailing so little a way, and the season of the year rendering sailing very hazardous; St. PAUL advised them to winter at the *Fair havens*. For the *fast* was now over; that is, the yearly *fast of atonement*, for the sins of the people of *Israel*, mentioned in many places of the old testament. In two or three of which places, it is ordered to be kept on the tenth day of the seventh month; five days before the *feast of tabernacles*<sup>e</sup>. Now, the *feast of tabernacles* began on the fifteenth day of the seventh month; that month, which the *jews* called *Tisri*, and which answers to part of *september* and part of *october*, in our way of dividing the months. This *jewish fast*, therefore, fell about the twenty-fifth of *september*. And, as it was now past, for some time, the nights were growing long and dark, and the heavens cloudy; the *michaelmas* flows were coming down upon the *mediterranean sea*; and the stormy months of autumn and winter advanceing. But, though the APOSTLE's advice was so reasonable; and founded upon a *prophecie*, that, if they did put to sea again, it would be to the hazard,

Ver. 8. <sup>d</sup> See the *Alexandrian*, and one more, manuscript, in Dr. Mill; and *Grotius* on this place.

Ver. 9. <sup>e</sup> Lev. xvi. 29, &c. and xxiii. 27, &c. Numb. xxix. 7, &c. It is called a *sabbath*, [Lev. xvi. 31. and xxiii. 32. and perhaps, also, Isa. lviii. 3; 13.] because they were to abstain from all manner of work that day; as on the *weekly sabbath*.



hazard, not onely of the loading and the ship, but even of their lives, also; yet *Julius* depended more upon the judgement of the pilot, and the master of the ship, than upon any thing which the APOSTLE could say. And, as the *Fair havens* was an inconvenient port to winter in, as being but poorly defended against winds and storms; the majority were for leaveing it, and trying if they could not get to *Phænice*, (another port in *Crete*,) that they might winter there. For it was a much more safe and convenient harbor; being made in the form of an half moon; looking towards the south-west, and north-west; whereby it kept off the stormy winds, on every side; and secured the ships, which rode at anchor there. And, while the south-wind blew softly, they supposed that they could compasse their design. And, accordingly, they made an attempt; coasting the *island Crete*, as far as they could. But they had not long been out of the harbor of the *Fair havens*, before a very stormy and tempestuous wind, called [*Euro-aquilo*<sup>f</sup>, or] a *north-east wind*, arose against them; and carried them out to sea. And, when the ship was carried violently along, and not able to bear up, against such a great storm; they even committed her to the winds and waves. And, running under a little *island*, called *Clauda*<sup>g</sup>, they had much a-do to hoist the boat, out of the sea, into the ship. And, when they had, with some difficulty, secured the boat, they used what helps they could, to strengthen and defend the ship; undergirding it with ropes, to prevent it's splitting; and fortifying it, as much as they were able, against the violent storm. And, fearing lest they should have been driven upon the *syrtes*, or *quick-sands*, on the coasts of *Africa*; they struck sail, and then let the ship drive. And, when they were excedeingly tossed about, in the storm; the billows swelling, and the seas roaring; the next day, the sailors threw the goods overboard, to lighten the ship. And, on the third day, all hands were busie, in casting over-board the very tackling of the ship. And when neither sun, moon<sup>h</sup>, nor stars appeared, for several days; and the waves ran high, and the winds were strong and violent; they began utterly to despair, even of their lives. And, when they had neglected their meals for a long time, St. PAUL went, and stood in the midst of them, and

VOL. II. M m said:

An. Christ.  
60.  
Nero. 6.  
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Acts  
xxvii. 10,  
11.

Ver. 14. <sup>f</sup> See the note upon the *history* before the paraphrase and notes on *Titus*, p. 13. and what is said in the *errata*, annexed to 2 *Timothy*, p. 144. first edition, p. 400. 2d edition.

Ver. 16. <sup>g</sup> It is, otherwise, called *Gaudos*, or *Cauda*. [See Dr. Mill.]

Ver. 20. <sup>h</sup> Μῆς σελήνης [nor the moon] is added in the *syriac version*. [See Dr. Mill.]



An. Christ. said : " Ought ye not to have taken my advice ; and not have sailed  
 60. " from the *Fair havens* in *Crete* ? If you had done so, you would  
 Nero. 6. " have avoided this reproach upon your skill in navigation ; as well  
 Book III. " as the losse of your merchandize, and tackle. However ; I de-  
 Ch. X. " fire you would be no longer afraid. Because, though the ship  
 Sect. I. " shall be lost ; yet none of you shall lose your lives. For there  
 Acts " appeared unto me, in a *vision*, this night, the *angel* of the one  
 xxvii. 21, " true GOD ; whose servant I am, and whom I diligently and daily  
 &c. " worship ; saying, " Be not afraid, PAUL ! For thou must appear  
 " before *Cæsar*. And, behold, GOD will, at thy request, save the  
 " lives of all those, who are in the ship with thee." Wherefore, Sirs,  
 " be of good chear. For I am satisfied that the divine promise will  
 " be punctually accomplished. But we must first be cast, by ship-  
 " wreck, upon the coast of some *island*."

And it came to passe, about the fourteenth night, while the ship was tossed, up and down, in the *Adriatic sea* ; about the middle of the night, the sailors suspected that they were drawing near some land. And, when they had sounded, with line and plummet, they found the water about twenty fathoms deep. And, haveing gone a little farther, they sounded again ; and found it onely fifteen fathoms. And, when, by that, it evidently appeared, that they were drawing near some shore, they were afraid, lest they should have run upon the rocks, or shelves, which commonly abound nigh the coasts of *islands*. They, therefore, cast four anchors out of the stern ; wishing earnestly that it were day, that they might see the shore. In the mean time, the sailors attempted to make their escape, out of the ship ; and let down the boat, into the sea, under a pretence of casting anchors, at a greater distance, out of the fore-part of the ship ; but, in reality, to make off with the boat, and save their own lives. St. PAUL perceiving their design, said, to the *centurion* and soldiers ; " Unlesse these sailors continue in the ship, to manage and make the best of it, the rest cannot escape with their lives." Upon which, the *soldiers* cut the ropes, by which the boat hung. And so it dropt into the sea, before any of the sailors had got into it. Just before break of day, the APOSTLE begged of them all to take some refreshment ; saying, " You have had no set meals, and have eat very little<sup>i</sup>, for these fourteen days. Let me, therefore, advise you, for your health's sake, to eat something. And, for your encouragement, I can assure you, that

Ver. 33. <sup>i</sup> Compare *Matt. xi. 18.* with the APOSTLE's expression in this place.



"that none of you shall lose so much as an hair of your heads." An. Christ. Then he took bread, and chearfully gave thanks to GOD, in the 60. Nero. 6. presence of the whole company. And, haveing broken the bread, he proceeded to eat. Upon which, they all revived; and began to hope well, and to take some refreshment, along with the APO- Book III. Ch. X. Sect. I. STLE. All the persons aboard the ship, were no lesse than two Acts xxvii. 34. hundred and seventy six. And, being well refreshed, they threw ad fin. over-board their wheat, and other provisions; that the ship might be light, and able to sail near the shore. When it was day, they looked earnestly to descry the land. But they could, none of them, tell what country they were upon the coasts of. However; they discovered a creek, with a proper shore to land at: and they resolv- ed, if possible, to thrust the ship in there. Weighing, therefore, their anchors, they committed the ship to the waves. Their ships, in those days, had commonly two rudders, or steerages; one on each side; which were fastened to the ship, by bands or chains. Perhaps, those rudders had been fastened, when they permitted the vessel to drive before the wind. And they might, now, think it proper to loose them, in order to steer the ship into the creek. For that reason, it has been supposed, that they loosed the *rudder-bands*. And, hoisting up the sail, which was in the fore-part of the ship, they made towards the shore. And, falling upon a cliff, where two currents of the sea met, they ran the ship a-ground. And, while the fore-part stuck fast, and remained immoveable, the hinder-part was broken, and shattered, by the violence of the waves<sup>k</sup>. Then the soldiers advised that the prisoners should be killed; left any of them should swim to shore, and so escape out of their hands, and they remain accountable for them. But the *centurion*, who had the charge of the prisoners, was willing to save the APOSTLE's life. He, therefore, hindered their cruel purpose<sup>l</sup>; and ordered, that such of the prisoners, as could swim, should throw themselves first into the sea, that they might not hinder the others, in shifting for themselves; but be ready, on the shore, to assist as many as they could. And the rest, some upon planks, and others upon

M m 2

pieces

Ver. 41. <sup>k</sup> St. PAUL saith, 2 Cor. xi. 25. "A day and a night, I have been in the deep." But this *shipwreck* cannot be there referred to. For that *epistle* was written long before this time.

Ver. 43. <sup>l</sup> GOD, at the request of St. PAUL, saved the whole company from being drowned. And, for his sake, *Julius*, the centurion, took care that the prisoners were saved from being murdered. All this ought to be ascribed to the over- ruling providence, and mercy, of GOD.



An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. pieces of the shattered ship, all made a shift to escape, and get safe to shore, with their lives and limbs.

Book III.

Ch. X.

Sect. II.

Acts

xxviii. 1,

&c.

## CHAP. X. SECT. II.

*They all staid, three months, in Melita. St. PAUL shook off a viper, which bit his hand, without receiving any harm. He miraculously healed the father of Publius; and many other sick persons. The Melitese were, in return, very kind to them. Acts xxviii. 1,—11.*

**B**EING all come safe ashore, they found that the island was called *Melita*. There were two islands of that name; but this was what lay between *Africa* and *Sicily*. It is a small island, being about twelve miles broad, and twenty long, and sixty distant from *Sicily*, to the south. It took its name from the abundance of *honey* found therein. For *meli*, in *Greek*, signifies *honey*. It, also, yields a great deal of *cotton*. And, though the soil is but three feet deep, above the solid rock, it is very fruitful. It is now called *Malta*. And the place, where they were driven ashore, is, at this time, shown to travellers; and goes by the name of *St. PAUL's shore*, or *haven*. *St. PAUL's* shipwreck has, in later ages, occasioned, also, a superstitious regard to this island. In consequence of which, it was given, in the year of our lord, 1530. by the emperor, *Charles the 5th*, to the knights of *St. John*, in *Jerusalem*, when they had been expelled, from *Rhodes*, by the *Turks*. They are one thousand in number, of whom 500 always reside in the island, and are called *Hospitallers*, *knights-templars*, or *knights of Malta*<sup>a</sup>.

The *Melitese*, though reckoned, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, a *barbarous* and *unpolished people*<sup>b</sup>, treated them with great and uncommon

Ver. 1. <sup>a</sup> See Dr. Doddridge.

Ver. 2. <sup>b</sup> The *antients* looked upon *islanders* in general, as *rough-hewn and unpolished*; for want of a more free and common conversation with the rest of mankind. And



mon humanity, after their shipwreck; receiveing them all with an hearty welcome, and makeing a large fire, to warm and dry them; after they had been so much plunged in the sea; and because the season was wet and cold. Among the rest, St. PAUL was active; and put, upon the fire, some faggots of wood, which he himself had gathered; and, when they grew hot, out-leapt a *viper*, and fastened upon his hand. The natives saw, by his chains, that he was a prisoner. And, when they observed this accident befall him, they discovered the same censorious spirit, which is yet too common in the world; *namely*, to look upon the afflictions of others to be judgements, and tokens of the divine displeasure:—saying, one to another, “Without doubt, this man is a murtherer, or some notorious malefactor. For, though he hath escaped from shipwreck; yet *justice* persueth him, and will not suffer him to live: but hath singled him out, and reserved him to a more exemplary punishment; appointing this *viper* as the executioner of divine vengeance.” But the APOSTLE shook off that venomous and fierce creature, into the fire, without receiveing any, the least, harm. [This was exactly agreeable to what OUR LORD had promised his disciples should do<sup>d</sup>.] However; the *Meliteſe* watched him narrowly; expecting to see him swell, and be inflamed with the poison; or to fall down dead, suddenly. But, when they had watched him, a long time; and saw that he had received no harm, from that serpent, whose bite they knew to be mortal; they ran into the other extreme, and thought as much too highly of him, now, as they had unjustly censured him before. For, instead of a murtherer, they concluded he must needs be a *god*, in human shape; or else he could not have resisted the force of that poison<sup>e</sup>.

Not far from the place, where they had been shipwreck’d, was the seat of the chief man of the *island*; whose name was *Publius*; and who governed the island, under the *proconsul* of *Sicily*. He sent

And the *greeks*, in particular, looked upon all nations, except their own, as *barbarous*. [See Rom. i. 14.] Just as the *jews* contemned men of other nations, and called them *gentiles*, upon the account of their religion.

Ver. 4. <sup>e</sup> See Amos v. 19.

Ver. 5. <sup>d</sup> See Mark xvi. 18. Luke x. 19. and compare, with this, the miracles of *Moses*, recorded Exod. iv. 2,—5. and vii. 10, 11, 12.

Ver. 6. <sup>e</sup> The *Lystrians* would have worshiped St. PAUL, as a *god*; and, afterwards, stoned him, as a *blasphemer*, and the worst of men. [Acts xiv. 11,—19.] So soon do unthinking persons run from one extreme to another; and so little account is to be had of the warmth of affections, where it is not grounded upon reason and conviction!

An. Christ.

60.

Nero. 6.

Book III.

Ch. X.

Sect. II.

Acts

xxviii. 2.

Ec.



An. Christ. 60.  
Nero. 6.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. II.  
Acts  
xxviii.  
7, &c.

sent for them, to his house; and, for three days, entertained them, in a kind and friendly manner. It happened that *Publius* his father kept his bed, at that time. For he labored under both a fever, and a bloody flux. To him, therefore, the APOSTLE went in, and prayed over him. And then, laying his hands upon him, (as OUR LORD had done, in working several of his *miraculous* cures; and as he had ordered his *disciples*, the APOSTLES to do; when they miraculously healed diseases<sup>f</sup>:—In conformity to CHRIST's example, and in obedience to his command, PAUL, I say, laid his hands upon the father of *Publius*, and) healed him, immediately and perfectly.

When this *miraculous* cure was noised abroad, several other persons, in the *island*, who labored under sickness and other bodily disorders, either came, or were brought; and St. PAUL perfectly and miraculously cured them all. In a grateful return for which favor, the people of the *island* showed the APOSTLE and his company no small respect; treating them generously, while they staid there; and furnishing them plentifully, at their departure, with such provisions, as they should most want, in their voyage.

After three months, they met with another *Alexandrian* ship; which had wintered in the *island*, and was bound for *Italy*. It was called *Gemini*, or the *twins*, *Castor* and *Pollux*; from their images being engraven on the fore-part of the ship; *that is*, “the pictures of two young men, cloathed in white tunics and purple upper garments: and rideing on two, beautiful, white horses; with, each of them, a javelin in his hand; and, by their side, half an egg and a star.” When they appeared together, (as the *heathens* fabled, they sometimes did,) they were looked upon, as *two deities*; which were propitious to sailors. That, very likely, was the reason why both their images were engraven on this ship. And, perhaps, most of them, who sailed in company with the APOSTLE, might look upon it, as a good *omen*, that they sailed under such a protection; and might promise themselves a more prosperous voyage, in this ship, than they had met with, in the ship, which brought them from *Crete*. As, indeed, they had. But it was owing to the protection of a *superior deity*, even the one true GOD, whose providence is constantly over all his works.

Ver. 8. <sup>f</sup> See *Mark* xvi. 18.



C H A P. X. S E C T. III.

*They sailed from Melita to Sicily. From thence, to Rhegium, in Italy. After that, to Puteoli; from whence they went, by land, to Rome. Some christians met them, at Appii Forum; and others, at Tres Tabernæ. Acts xxviii. 12,—15.*

**L**OOSEING from Melita, they sailed to Syracuse, the metropolis of the island Sicily, on the eastern coast. It is said to have been twenty-two miles round, and to have equalled Carthage in it's riches. It was not far from mount *Ætna*; and was famous for an excellent haven. There, they tarried three days; either detained by the winds, or for the sake of repairs, victualling, or traffic. From Syracuse, they fetched a compass; and sailed, on the eastern coast of Sicily, to the town of Rhegium. It was a town, which lay upon the coasts of Italy, nigh the straits of Sicily, over against Messana, which stood in the island. The greek word, Rhegium, signifies a breach. And the antients so named this place, because they supposed that, formerly, Sicily had been joined to Italy; 'till it was broken off, about this town, by an earthquake, or inundation<sup>a</sup>. When they had tarried, one day, at Rhegium, the wind shifted to the south. By which mean, they sailed along the coast of Italy; and arrived, the next day, at Puteoli; a city of Campania, nigh the city Neapolis, or Naples. Strabo saith, it was a very great mart town; where there was an harbor for ships, made by art and labor.

So much had the gospel spread, before St. PAUL's arriveal; that here, as well as at Rome, they found some christians. I suppose, it's being a tradeing city conduced to it's haveing christianity, more early than some other places.

The christians at Puteoli begged of the APOSTLE to make some stay among them. To which, Julius, the centurion, with great benignity, consented. And they tarried, there, seven days. From thence,

Ver. 13. <sup>a</sup> Rhegium comes from the verb *ρήγνυω*, or *ρήγνυμι*, [to break.] Vid Justin. bist. l. 4. c. 1.

An. Christ.  
61.  
Nero. 7.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. III.  
Acts  
xxviii.  
12, &c.



An. Christ. 61. Nero. 7. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. III. Acts xxviii. 14, &c. thence, they went, by land, to *Rome*. The *christians* at *Rome*, who seem to have been pretty numerous, had heard a great deal of the famous APOSTLE of the gentiles. And had, some time ago, received a long and excellent *epistle* from him. And now, having notice of his approach, they were overjoyed at the hopes of seeing, and converseing with, him. And, to show him all the respect in their power, they went out to meet him. Some of them, as far as *Appii Forum*, a town in the *Appian way*, between *Rome* and *Campania*; at the distance of fifty-one miles from *Rome*. Others went to the place called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Taverns*; which also lay upon the *Appian way*, and was about thirty miles from *Rome*<sup>b</sup>. The sight of them, and the prospect of travelling with them, to that great city, revived the heart of the APOSTLE. Upon which, he gave thanks to GOD; who had permitted him, with so much pleasure, to see their faces. And, though he came, with *his chains* on, and as a prisoner; and was, now, in the near prospect of appearing before *Cæsar*. Yet, when he beheld the *christians* of *Rome*, his own afflictions vanished; and he was animated with fresh vigor and fortitude; as perceiving that he was like to have some friends, during his confinement, in that *imperial city*; and that there were hopes of *christianity's* flourishing there.

Ver. 15. <sup>b</sup> Vid. Anton. in itinerar. & Tull. ep. ad Attic. l. 2. epist. 10; 13.

## CHAP. X. SECT. IV.

*The APOSTLE at Rome. He preaches to the jews there. When several of them refuse to imbrace christianity, he declared his resolution to preach to the gentiles of that city. Acts xxviii. 16,—29.*

WHEN they came to *Rome*, the centurion, *Julius*, delivered up his charge of the prisoners, to *Burrus Afranius*, who was then captain of the *prætorian band*<sup>a</sup>. There was, now, onely one

Ver. 16. <sup>a</sup> Trajan. ad Plin. l. 10. ep. 65. Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 42. l. 13. c. 14. l. 14. c. 51. Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel history, part I. book I. chap. 10. § 11. p. 532, 533.



one captain of the guards. But, *Burrus* dying, the next year, there were two appointed. He committed the other prisoners to a more close confinement. But the APOSTLE was suffered to take an house, and live private, as a prisoner at large; having onely one soldier to watch him, who was chained to him, by a long chain, which was fastened to the APOSTLE's right arm, and to the soldier's left<sup>b</sup>. Such a favorable, and easie, confinement must have proceeded, partly from the kind representation, which *Julius*, the centurion, who had brought him from *Cæsarea*, had made, in his behalf. But still more, very probably, from *Festus* his letter to the emperor; who could declare that PAUL was not guilty of the breach of any part of the *roman law*. Though it is not impossible, but that it might be, in part, oweing to *Burrus* his singular goodnesse and humanity.

Where-ever the APOSTLE came, he generally went first to the synagogue, and attempted the *conversion* of the jews. But, as he was now under confinement, he either could not go to the *synagogue*; or might think it improper to go, and preach in so public a place. Four days after his arriveal, therefore, he sent for the chief of the jews, at *Rome*, to come to his house. They came, at his request. Upon which, he said to them: "Brethren, though I have done nothing  
" detrimental to the people of the jews, or contrary to the rites and  
" institutions, which *Moses* delivered to our fathers; yet the jews  
" apprehended me, at *Jerusalem*; and caused me to be laid in chains,  
" by the romans. Who, when they had examined the case, and  
" would have released me; as not guilty of any crime, much lesse  
" of any capital crime; the jews, who should have been my best  
" friends, spoke against it<sup>c</sup>. This compelled me to appeal to *Cæ-*  
" *sar*. Not that I design to accuse mine own nation to the emperor.  
" No! I have still a very great tendernesse and concern for them.  
" But I must vindicate myself. And I was, in the first place, de-  
" sireous to talk with, and convince, you. You know the national  
" expectation, concerning the coming of the *messiah*, about this  
" time; and cannot be ignorant of the prophecies, upon which that  
" expectation is grounded. Neither will you deny the doctrine, of

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" a re-

<sup>b</sup> *Seneca de tranquill. c. 10. Id. epist. 5. Herod Agrippa* was chained to a soldier, when he was thrown into prison, by *Tiberius*. *Joseph. antiq. jud. l. 18. c. 6. § 6, 7. See also the second dissertation, annexed to the paraphrase and notes on Philemon: 2d edition. Dr. Lardner's credibility, &c. part 1. book 1. chap. 10. § 9.*

*Ver. 19.* <sup>c</sup> Compare, herewith, the case of OUR BLESSED LORD, when he was accused, before *Pontius Pilate*.

An. Christ.

61.

Nero. 7.

Book III.

Ch. X.

Sect. IV.

Acts

xxviii.

16, &c.



An. Christ. 61. " a resurrection from the dead. And why should you, then, refuse  
 Nero. 7. " to believe the resurrection of JESUS of Nazareth; and to acknow-  
 Book III. " lege him to be the *messiah*? For, he hath given such evidence of  
 Ch. X. " these things, as is sufficient to satisfy all well-disposed inquirers.  
 Sect. IV. " As to my belief of such articles, there is no occasion for any o-  
 Acts " ther testimony, than my present confinement. For, because of  
 xxviii. " my faith in that great promise, made to *Israel*, I am bound with  
 20, &c. " this chain." The *jews* replied: " We have not received any let-  
 " ters, from any of our brethren in *Judæa*, about you; nor heard  
 " any thing, about your case, in particular. Neither have any of  
 " the *jews*, who came from thence, reported any evil of you. But,  
 " as you profess yourself a *christian*, we should be glad to hear  
 " you explain yourself, and give us your opinion. Though we  
 " would first let you know, that this *sect*, called *christians*, are a  
 " people, who are generally spoken against; both by the *jews* and  
 " *gentiles*; at *Rome*, and every where else<sup>d</sup>."

Thus ended the conversation, the first time, between the APO-  
 STLE, and the leading men of the *jews*, at *Rome*. But they fixed  
 upon a day, when they were to come again, and hear him give a  
 more particular account of the *christian doctrine*, and of the evi-  
 dences of it.

When the day came, several more of the *jews* went to the A-  
 POSTLE's house. To whom he explained himself more fully;  
 bearing his testimony, that the *kingdom of God*, which was to be  
 erected under the *messiah*, was already come; and pointing out the  
 exact accomplishment of the *antient prophecies*, recorded in the old  
 testament, by JESUS and his *religion*; and showing them, evident-  
 ly, that, from his life, doctrine, miracles, resurrection, ascension,  
 and pouring out of the *spirit*, he must be the promised and long-  
 expected *messiah*. And so intent was he upon convincing them,  
 that he discoursed with them, about such subjects, from morning  
 'till

Ver. 22. <sup>d</sup> Justin Martyr hath assigned one of the chief reasons, why the *christi-  
 ans* labored, so universally, under the popular odium. " For the *jews* not onely cursed  
 " them in their *synagogues*, and did all they could to raise the hatred and enmity of  
 " mankind against them; but they sent out chosen men, from *Jerusalem*, to ac-  
 " quaint the world, and more especially the *jews*, every where, that the new *sect*,  
 " which arose from JESUS of *Galilee*, was an atheistical and wicked *sect*: to be a-  
 " voided, and detested, by all mankind." [Vid. Dialog. cum Trypho. edit. Thirlb. p. 170,  
 171. Paris. edit. 1636. p. 234, 235. & Thirlb. p. 368, 369. Paris. 335. Vid. etiam,  
 Tertull. ad Nat. l. 1. c. 14. Origen. contra Celsum, l. 6. p. 293, 294. edit. Spencer.  
 Euseb. hist. eccles. l. 4. c. 18. & Grot. in Mat. xxvii. 63.] The *jews* spoke against  
 Jesus himself: and, afterwards, against his apostles. But it is not easie to fix the ex-  
 act time, when those chosen men were sent out, by them.



'till evening. Upon which, some were convinced, and imbraced *christianity*; but others rejected it, notwithstanding all that he had alleged.

When the *jews* thus differed among themselves, the assembly broke up; after St. PAUL had concluded, with a close reproof to the unbelieving and disobedient, in the words of the *prophet Isaiab*; as OUR LORD had done, upon a like occasion; "Go to the people of *Israel*; and, in my name, (saith GOD to the *prophet*,) declare, "that, hearing, you will hear, and will not understand; and, though "you might see, yet you will not perceive; because your hearts "are hardened, through grosse and sinful præjudices; and your ears "refuse to hear, and your eyes to see. For you wilfully close "them; lest you should see such truths, as you will not comply "with; though it is the onely way to peace, and acceptance with "GOD." To this purpose, spoke the *antient prophet*. And how "aptly do his words agree to many of you, who now hear me? "But, as you refuse the *messiah*, now he is come; and reject the "truth and purity, together with the privileges, of *his kingdom of righteousness*; I tell you planely, (in order to provoke you to jealousy,) that *this salvation* of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, "must be offered unto the *gentiles* of this city. And many of "them will hear and obey; though you despise it."

Thus the body of the *jews*, at *Rome*, acted like the body of that nation, in other places; and went away, with their sinful and inveterate præjudices. Though it is said, that the APOSTLE's discourse occasioned them to have several disputes among themselves. But, very likely, without any remarkable effect. For it doeth not appear, that any more of them imbraced *christianity*, at *Rome*.

Ver. 28. \* See the reading of some of the most antient and best mss. in Dr. Mill: *εἰς τὸ σωτήριον*, *this salvation*.



## C H A P. X. S E C T. V.

*The APOSTLE makes several converts to christianity, at Rome. An account of his companions, or fellow-laborers, there.*

An. Christ.  
61.  
Nero. 7.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. V.  
Acts  
xxviii.  
29.

**D**URING this his easie confinement, at Rome, St. PAUL went on, to preach the *gospel*. And he wanted not some remarkable successe. For he had the skill to make both *his chains*, and *his liberty*, to turn to the interest of *christianity*. Nothing could discourage him ; his whole heart was ingaged in the work ; and he turned almost every thing, that befel him, to the advancement of the *gospel*. Among others, he converted *Onesimus*, at Rome. He was a servant to *Philemon*, who was a *christian* ; a person of distinction, at *Colosse* ; and (as some think) a convert of St. PAUL's<sup>a</sup>.

The APOSTLE's being confined, for so peculiar a reason, as his zeale and diligence to spread *christianity*, made the *gospel* to be the more inquired into. Some were excited, out of curiosity ; and others, out of a more virtuous disposition of mind ; to search into a *doctrine*, so different from the common opinions ; and which then made such a noise in the world. Both in the court, the camp, and the city of Rome<sup>b</sup>, *christianity* was the frequent subject of their conversation. So that several of the guards, or *prætorian soldiers* ; and some of Nero's household, or *domestic servants*<sup>c</sup>, as well as several of the city, actually imbraced the *christian faith*. By all accounts, both from friends and enemies, the *christians*, at Rome, amounted to a considerable number<sup>d</sup>. Long before St. PAUL came to Rome, and even in the days of *Claudius Cæsar*, (if *Suetonius* his account be just,) the *christians* were considerable enough, to be taken notice of, by the *emperor*. Though, I think, that could be, onely, as the *romans* accounted them, a *sect* of the *jews* : especially,  
if

<sup>a</sup> See *Philemon*, ver. 10. and the history præfixed to the paraphrase and notes on the epistle to *Philemon*.

<sup>b</sup> *Philip. i. 13.* — Ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι [in the palace, or prætorium, and in all other places.]

<sup>c</sup> *Phil. iv. 22.*

<sup>d</sup> See the two last notes : *Suston. in vit. Claud. c. 25. & in vit. Nero. c. 16. & Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.*



if we compare what is said, by *Suetonius*, with *Acts* xviii. 2. which is commonly thought to refer to the same thing. With the death of *Claudius*, the decree, which banished the *jews* and the *christians*, from *Rome*, died also. Upon which, they returned to that imperial city. And, as no more decrees were made, hitherto, against them; either by the emperor, or the senate; it is highly probable that their numbers increased. The *salutations*, in the conclusion of St. PAUL's epistle to the *Romans*, are a plane confirmation of this.

An. Christ.  
62.  
Nero. 8.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. V.  
Acts  
xxviii.  
29.

As there was already such a foundation laid, and St. PAUL now came thither, in the fulness of the blessing of the *gospel* of CHRIST;—he not only imparted *spiritual gifts*, to those who were converted before his coming<sup>c</sup>; and, by his discourses, as well as by his miracles, confirmed them in their most holy faith: but he had the unspeakable satisfaction of converting many more, and greatly augmenting the *christian church*, at *Rome*. It hath been already taken notice of, that he converted some of the *jews*. But the great harvest, in that city, was chiefly among the *idolatrous gentiles*.

St. PAUL's labor and diligence was the principal cause of the spreading of *christianity*, at *Rome*. But that was not all. For, when they saw his zeal and success, though he was in chains; several other of the *christians* took courage, from his example; and were, likewise, active in propagating *christianity*.—Some of them did it, out of a true concern for the advancement of the *christian religion*. But others, and more particularly the *judaizers*, did it, out of strife, and a spirit of opposition; that St. PAUL might be the more closely confined, or punished some other way.

The *evangelists*, who were St. PAUL's faithful assistants, or fellow-laborers at *Rome*, were, (1.) St. LUKE; who (as we have mentioned above) came with him, from *Cæsarea*, to *Rome*. In two of the *epistles*, written during this his confinement, the APOSTLE sends *salutations* from him<sup>f</sup>. (2.) *Aristarchus*, the *Macedonian*; who also, came, along with the APOSTLE, from *Cæsarea*, to *Rome*. It doeth not appear, that he was carried, as a prisoner: but he seems to have gone voluntarily to *Rome*; and to have been there apprehended, and confined, for his zeal and activity, in preaching the *gospel*, in that city<sup>g</sup>. Perhaps, the *factious judaizers*, who preached CHRIST out of contention, hoping thereby to add affliction to the APOSTLE's bonds<sup>h</sup>, were the occasion of *Aristarchus* his confinement;

<sup>c</sup> Rom. i. 11. and xv. 29.    <sup>f</sup> Col. iv. 14. Philemon, ver. 24.    <sup>g</sup> Col. iv. 10.  
<sup>h</sup> Phil. i. 16.



An. Christ.  
62.  
Nero. 8.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. V.  
Acts  
xxviii.  
29.

ment; as the *jews* were of St. PAUL's. (3.) *Timothy*; who was a peculiar favorite with St. PAUL. He went, with the APOSTLE, to *Jerusalem*, with the *charitable collection*. But it doeth not appear, that he came along with him, to *Rome*. I suppose he first went to visit other *churches*; and, afterwards, followed the APOSTLE to that *imperial city*. We find his name, joined with the APOSTLE's, in the begining of three of *his epistles*, written from *Rome*, during the APOSTLE's confinement, there, at this time<sup>i</sup>. St. PAUL designed to send him to *Philippi*, to visit *that church*. And, very likely, he did so; though we have no particular account that he did. (4.) *Tychicus*. What hath been said of *Timothy*, was, in a great measure, his case. For he was one of the messengers of the *churches* of *Asia*, sent, with their *charitable collection*, to *Jerusalem*; and, very likely, he went, from thence, to visit some of the *christian churches* of St. PAUL's planting, before he followed that APOSTLE, to the great, *imperial, city*. Him did the APOSTLE send, from *Rome*, to *Laodicea*, and *Colosse*; to acquaint the *christians* of those cities, with his circumstances; and to know how things went among them: *that is*, whether they continued stedfast in the *true christian doctrine*; against the attempts of the *judaizers*, and the malice of persecutors and wicked men<sup>k</sup>. And, along with him, went *Onesimus*, in order to return to his master, *Philemon*; whom he had robbed, and from whom he had run away, some time ago. (5.) *John Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*, was with the APOSTLE, at *Rome*, during this, his first confinement, in that city<sup>l</sup>. It was he, about whom PAUL and BARNABAS had differed, so much, as to part company<sup>m</sup>. But we see, here, that St. PAUL and St. MARK were perfectly reconciled again; and acted in concert, in promoting the *gospel*. For this was many years after that difference and separation. What I have said, of the two former, seems to have been true of him; *namely*, that he did not go, with the APOSTLE; but followed him, to *Rome*. If they had been in company, during the voyage, St. LUKE would scarce have taken notice, onely of *Aristarchus* his being with them. [Acts xxvii. 2.] And the reading of the *vulgate*, taken notice of, in that place, if genuine, will be a farther confirmation thereof. (6.) *Epaphroditus* came, from *Philippi*, with a *present*, from the *church*, there, to St. PAUL, in his confinement. And, to the APOSTLE's great grief, he

<sup>i</sup> Phil. i. 1. Col. i. 1. Philem. ver. 1. He is again mentioned, Phil. ii. 19.

<sup>k</sup> Eph. vi. 21, 22. Col. iv. 7, 8. <sup>l</sup> Philem. ver. 23. Col. iv. 10. <sup>m</sup> Acts xv. 39.



he fell sick, at *Rome*; and had like to have died. But it pleased <sup>An. Chri.</sup> GOD that he recovered; and, after some time, returned to *Philippi*, <sup>62.</sup> <sup>Nero. 8.</sup> again<sup>n</sup>. (7.) *Epaphras* went, from *Colosse*, to the APOSTLE, at *Rome*<sup>o</sup>. (8.) *Jesus*, called *Justus*; who, perhaps, went, from *Jerusalem*, to *Rome*. However; he was, there, with the APOSTLE; <sup>Book III.</sup> <sup>Ch. X.</sup> <sup>Sect. V.</sup> and was one of the *jewish christians*; where-ever he was borne, or <sup>Acts</sup> from whence soever he came<sup>p</sup>. (9. and lastly.) *Demas*. This was <sup>xxviii.</sup> <sup>29.</sup> he, who, afterwards, forsook the APOSTLE: when, during his second confinement, at *Rome*, he was called to make an *apologie*; and to answer for his life, before the emperor, *Nero*; or his *præfect*, *Helius Cæsariensis*. I do not suppose that he forsook the *christian religion*, when he forsook the APOSTLE; or that his love to the *present world* was covetousness; but a timorous spirit, and an inordinate love of life. He was afraid to die a martyr for *christianity*, along with the APOSTLE; or to go where there was any danger of persecution. And, therefore, he not onely forsook St. Paul, when none of the *christians* dared to stand by him, or to appear with him; and when he was delivered, with great difficulty, as out of the mouth of a ravenous lion:—but he went, to *Thessalonica*, where there was less danger, and less occasion for him. Though the APOSTLE would have had him staid with him, or gone elsewhere<sup>q</sup>.

These were the persons, who were with St. PAUL, whilest he lived, in his easie confinement, at *Rome*; and who, most of them, assisted him, as *evangelists*; in watering, and cultivateing *christianity*, in several of the *churches*, where he had planted it.

<sup>n</sup> Phil. ii. 25,—30.<sup>o</sup> Col. iv. 12.<sup>p</sup> Col. iv. 11.<sup>q</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 10.



## C H A P. X. S E C T. VI.

*Dureing this, his first confinement, at Rome, St. PAUL wrote four of his epistles. The order, in which he wrote them, considered.*

An. Christ. 63.  
Nero. 9.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. VI.  
Acts  
xxviii.  
29.

**D**UREING this, his first imprisonment, at Rome, the APOSTLE of the gentiles wrote four of his epistles. That he wrote what we commonly call *his epistle* to the *Ephesians*, when he was confined, appears evidently, from his own words. [*Eph.* iii. 1. and vi. 20.] And the same observation holds, as to his *epistle* to the *Colossians*. [*Col.* iv. 18.] So, likewise, as to the *epistle* to *Philemon*. [*ver.* 9, 10.] And, lastly, as to his *epistle* to the *Philippians*, [*Philip.* i. 7 ; 13 ; 16.] That they were written, at Rome, appears also, from several expressions. For he mentions the spreading of christianity, in the *prætorium*, and in Nero's household. [See *Phil.* i. 13. and iv. 22. And, [from *Col.* iv. 14. *Philem.* ver. 23, 24.] it appears, that St. LUKE, who went with him, from *Cæsarea*, to Rome, was then with him; and others were imprisoned along with him. Which they do not appear to have been, in any other city, but that of Rome.

That St. PAUL was, some years, after this, confined, a second time, at Rome, seemeth to me very evident. And that the *epistle* to the *Philippians* was written, dureing his first confinement, there, is as evident, from *Phil.* ii. 24. For, when he wrote *that epistle*, he had a prospect of being set at liberty. Whereas; when he was confined, the second time, in that *imperial city*, he expresses no hope of his enlargement. But, on the contrary, saith, that " he " was ready to be offered up, [or his blood ready to be poured " out, as a libation ;] and the time of his dissolution was at hand." [*2 Tim.* iv. 6, &c.] And, what hath been said, of the *epistle* to the *Philippians*, may be justly applied to the other *three epistles*, which we are now considering. For [*Philem.* ver. 22.] he desired a lodging might be provided for him, at *Colosse*; because he hoped, shortly, to be set at liberty. And the other *two epistles*; namely, that to the *Ephesians*, or *Laodiceans*, and that to the *Colossians*; were written, about the same time, and sent by the same hands. [Compare *Philem.* ver. 10. with *Eph.* vi. 21, 22. and *Col.* iv. 7, 8, 9.]

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The order, in which these four epistles were written, comes next to be considered. For, though they were written, much about the same time, and from the same place; yet there are some transient and oblique hints, from whence we may collect the order, in which the APOSTLE wrote them. For instance; the epistle to the Ephesians, or Laodiceans, must have been written before the epistle to the Colossians; because St. PAUL orders the Colossians to get that epistle, and read it in their church. [Col. iv. 16.] For it would have been a very unusual way of speaking, to refer them to an epistle, which was not yet written. I own he might, possibly, refer them to what he was designing to write. But that is not so agreeable to common language. And we have no reason for making that supposition. The epistle, therefore, to the Laodiceans, which is commonly called the epistle to the Ephesians, I look upon, to have been written, the first of the four. In the second place; I reckon him to have written the epistle to the Colossians; while the form, matter, and the very expressions, of that other epistle, seem to have been fresh upon his mind. So that Dr. Mill hath, very justly and beautifully, called them twin epistles. And Mr. Locke hath observed, that "they do so perfectly correspond, that one cannot be mistaken in thinking them very fit to give light to one another." They were not onely written, about the same time; but sent by the same hand. And were, both of them, to be read, in the two churches, to which they were originally directed, or sent.

I suppose it will not be wondered, that I place Philemon the third in order. For, that it was written after the two, already mentioned, seems highly probable; from his expressing his hopes of being shortly released. [Philem. ver. 22.] Whereas; we find no such intimations; either in the epistle to the Laodiceans, or in that to the Colossians. But, that it should be placed next to them, seems as proper; because it was sent, at the same time, and by the same hands. [See Philem. ver. 10. Eph. vi. 21, 22. and Col. iv. 7, 8, 9.] And, that the epistle to the Philippians was written the last, may appear from chap. i. 25. and ii. 24. For, when he wrote it, he was in expectation of his being shortly set at liberty.

These hints are the best guides, that I have met with, towards settling the order, in which these four epistles were written.



## C H A P. X. S E C T. VII.

*What is commonly called the epistle to the Ephesians, was, most probably, the epistle from Laodicea, mentioned Col. iv. 16.*

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THE two things, which we are here to show, are, I. That this was not *an epistle* to the *Ephesians*. And II. That it was, most probably, *the epistle from Laodicea*, mentioned *Col. iv. 16.* which was, perhaps, a sort of general epistle, to such *gentile* christians, more especially of *Asia*, of whose conversion the APOSTLE had heard, but he had not visited them. And it seems not to have been directed to any particular church; (like that to the *Colossians*;) though the original, or first copy, was sent to *Laodicea*; and intended more immediately for their use. But the APOSTLE's design was, that other churches, also, should have copies of this epistle, for their own, and the general, benefit.

That it was not *an epistle* to the *Ephesians*, seems very likely, if we consider, (1.) That *Basil the great*, in his second book against *Eunomius*, did not read the words [ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, in *Ephesus*, ver. 1.] upon the faith of some more antient fathers, and of some old mss. According to that reading, the epistle was directed, not to the *Ephesians*; but to christians at large; that is, "To the saints, and to them that were faithful in CHRIST JESUS<sup>a</sup>." And, if *Ephesus* was not mentioned, in the first verse; there is nothing like it, to be found, in the rest of the *epistle*. (2.) St. PAUL never refers to his having been, among the persons, to whom he wrote this *epistle*. Whereas; it was an usual thing, with him, to make such references;

<sup>a</sup> See Dr. Mill on *Eph. i. 1.* and in the *prolegom.* 73; 809. See, also, *Ludolf Kuster*, in the præface to his edition of *Mill's new testament*. *Mr. Peirce's advertisement*, at the end of his *paraphrase and notes on the epistle to the Philippians*.

In the literary journal for April, May, and June, 1731. Article xx. there are some critical remarks, in *latin*, which have been ascribed to the late Mr. *Wetstein*. And that author supposed, that *Basil*, *Jerome*, *Marcion*, and *Tertullian*, all of them, had copies of the epistle, with this title præfixed, *The epistle of Paul the apostle to the Ephesians*. But that, in none of their copies, the words [*in Ephesus*,] were in the text; but onely [*To those that are saints; and faithful in Christ Jesus*.]



ces; as appears, from all the *epistles*, which were unquestionably written to the *churches* of his own planting. We find, that he had been at *Ephesus*, twice, before this<sup>b</sup>; and that he had resided there, for almost three years. There he conferred the *holy spirit*, upon twelve, who had been *John the baptist's disciples*. There, he taught *christianity*, in the *jewish synagogue*, for three months; and, afterwards, in the school of *Tyrannus*, for about two years. So that all the inhabitants of the *proconsular Asia* heard the *christian doctrine*, both *jews* and *gentiles*. There, he worked uncommon miracles. For the handkerchiefs, or aprons, which he had touched, cured diseased persons, at a distance; when applied to their bodies<sup>c</sup>. There, the *exorcist jews* were remarkably baffled; when they attempted to cast out *dæmons*, in the name of *JESUS*, whom *PAUL* preached. Which was a great honor to the *APOSTLE*, and to the *christian religion*. For the story quickly spread, through all the city. At *Ephesus*, some of *St. PAUL's converts* burnt their magical books, which were valued at fifty thousand pieces of silver<sup>d</sup>. And, from that city, he was driven away, by the riot, raised by *Demetrius*, and his company of *silversmiths*. And, when he himself was thus forced away, from *Ephesus*, and went into *Macedonia*, he left his beloved *Timothy*, there, to ordain the *elders* of that church to be *bishops* and *deacons*. And, accordingly, we find, [*Acts xx. 17, and 28, compared*] that he calls such of their *elders*, as met him, at *Miletus*, *bishops*; and intimateth, that the *holy spirit* had constituted them such; that is, that they were pointed out, for that office, by the *spirit of prophecie*.—Can *St. PAUL*, after all these things, be supposed to write an *epistle* to them; and yet to take no notice of any one of these particulars; nor make the most distant and oblique reference to them?—No! not so much as to salute any of his friends and acquaintance, at *Ephesus*; where he had several very affectionate friends?—View the *epistles* to the *churches* of his own planting; and see whether any other such instance can be found, among them all. At *Philippi*, the church was settled with fixed officers, before he wrote. And, therefore, he directs his *epistle*, not onely to the *christians* in general, there; but to the *bishops* and *deacons*. But there is no such thing here. Though the church of *Ephesus* had evidently such officers, before the writeing of this *epistle*. And I may add, that *Timothy* was with *St. PAUL*,

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<sup>b</sup> Acts xviii. 19, &c. and xix. 1:  
the value of this money, on Acts xix. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Acts xix. 8; 10. and xx. 31.

<sup>d</sup> See



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at *Ephesus*; and not onely helped him to plant *that church*; but was left behind him, to ordain, among them, *bishops* and *deacons*. Whereas; *Timothy's* name is not mentioned, in the introduction to *this epistle*; though it is found, in the begining of the *epistle* to the *Colossians*, and of that to *Philemon*; which were both sent, along with *this epistle*. I suppose, therefore, that *Timothy* was unknown to most, or all, of the *churches*, to whom *this epistle* was written. And, therefore, he joined not with the APOSTLE, in the writeing of it. (3.) It is remarkable, that the very style, and manner, of *this epistle* is excedeing like that of the *epistle to the Colossians*; which was, confessedly, written to a *church*, that had never seen the APOSTLE. [Col. ii. 1.] For [Eph. i. 15. and Col. i. 4.] he intimateth, "that he had [onely] heard of their faith in CHRIST, and of their love to all the *christians*." It is true, he uses the same expressions, in writeing to *Philemon*. [ver. 5.] But, it is not certain, that he himself had converted *Philemon*, immediately. And, if he did it, by any of his *assistents*; the argument remains in it's full force. Again, he not onely mentioneth his *bearing of their faith in CHRIST*; but, [Eph. iii. 1, 2.] he speaks, "as if he was dubious, whether they had ever heard of his being the APOSTLE of the *gentiles*." Or, at the most, they had onely *heard* of that; and of the *extraordinary revelations*, which he had received from heaven: particularly, concerning the *grand mystery* of calling in the *gentiles*, (such as they, in general, seem to have been,) without any subjection to the *law of Moses*. And, *verses* 3, 4. he intimateth, that, if they had never heard of these things before, they might understand them, from the brief hints, which he had given them, in *this epistle*." Is this like St. PAUL's style to the *churches* of his own planting? Could the *Ephesians* question, whether he was the APOSTLE of the *gentiles*? Or be ignorant of his understanding the *mystery* of GOD's calling the *gentiles* into the *christian church*? Or could a few lines, or even a larger *epistle* than this, have given them so clear a knowlege of St. PAUL's *illumination*; as their hearing him preach a thousand times? For, had he not been among them, for about the space of three years; warning every one of them, night and day, with tears?" Doeth not he himself declare, "that he had kept back nothing, which could be profitable for them; but had taught them publicly, and from house to house?" And, what one thing was there, which he more frequently insisted upon, in the *gentile churches*, than that of their being equally accepted with the *jewish converts*; and that without any subjection to the *law* of



of Moses? His *first epistle to Timothy*, though directed onely to that evangelist, when he resided at *Ephesus*, doeth, nevertheless, plainly appear to have been written with a view to the church there; and is full of this subject. As, indeed; most of St. PAUL's epistles are. Besides; St. PAUL praiseth and commendeth the christians, to whom he wrote *this epistle*; and never once reproveth them. Whereas; if we look into the *two epistles to Timothy*, we shall find, that the christians, at *Ephesus*, deserved reproof; and could not be universally commended. I am sensible that the expressions, from which I have here argued, have been interpreted in a different sense; and so, as to make them sute the christian church, at *Ephesus*. But they do not appear, to me, fairly to admit of such an interpretation. For, why should we give them one turn, in the epistle to the *Colossians*; and another, in *this epistle*? Unless it be, to serve an hypothesis? And an hypothesis, which, from the arguments alleged, appeareth to me to be not well-grounded?

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As, therefore, there is so much reason to suspect that *this epistle* was not written, originally, to the *Ephesians*; let us procede,

II. To inquire, "What evidence there is, that it was the epistle from *Laodicea*, mentioned, Col. iv. 16?" And,

*First*, It is plane, from St. PAUL's own words, [Col. ii. 1.] that he had never seen the christians, at *Laodicea*. All the expressions, therefore, from which we have argued, that it could not be originally written to the church at *Ephesus*, (a church, which he himself had planted, and with whom he had so long resided,) will perfectly well agree with the circumstances of the *Laodiceans*; though they were utterly inconsistent with those of the *Ephesians*. But this alone will not prove that it was written to *Laodicea*, rather than to any other church, where the APOSTLE had never been. Whereas;

*Secondly*. If we carefully consider St. PAUL's direction, Col. iv. 16. we shall be inclined to fix upon *Laodicea*, in particular; as the place, to which he first sent *this epistle*. The direction to the *Colossians* runs thus: "When you have read the epistle, [which I have sent to you,] take care that it be read, in the church of the *Laodiceans*; and that you, also, read the epistle from *Laodicea*." Τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας. This last sentence hath had four interpretations. (1.) Some have conjectured, that, "by [the epistle from *Laodicea*,] the APOSTLE meant the *first epistle to Timothy*; which he himself had written, from *Laodicea*, to *Timothy*, who was then at *Ephesus*." But, that the APOSTLE could not have written any epistle, before this, from *Laodicea*, is evident; in that he saith, "The *Laodiceans* had

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“never yet seen his face.” [Col. ii. 1.] (2.) Others have phanſied, that, “by [*the epistle from Laodicea,*] the APOSTLE meant an *epistle*, which the church of Laodicea had written to him.” But this appears very unlikely. For the APOSTLE put the *two epistles* on a level with one another; and ordered that they should be both read, publicly, in both the churches. We find, indeed, that St. Paul, in some of his *epistles*, doeth refer to what he himself had said in others; and that he gave orders for their being publicly read, in the churches. And St. PETER, likewise, mentions the *epistles* of his beloved brother PAUL, with great respect; and sets them on a level with his own. But, where do we find, that an *epistle*, written, by a christian church, to an APOSTLE, was ever set upon a level with an *epistle*, written by an APOSTLE himself? The christians, at Corinth, wrote a letter, to St. PAUL, in which they desired a solution of many difficulties. But we find no order, from the APOSTLE, that *their epistle* should be read publicly, in any of the christian churches. Nor can any instance of that nature be produced. Besides; what weight and authority could an *epistle*, written by a neighboring church, have had, among the christians, at Colosse? Or, what light and instruction could they have received, from those, who had been brought over to christianity, as late as themselves; and who knew no more, very probably, of the gospel-doctrine, than they did? (3.) Some, again, have understood “that expression, [*the epistle from Laodicea,*] of an *epistle* written, by St. PAUL, which “was lost, in the early ages of the christian church.” And the papists have, thereupon, been ready to triumph; as if it plainly followed, from thence, “that the church had the power to decree what “should be canonical scripture; and to throw out, or take in, what “they thought proper.” Others, to supply that great loss, have produced an *epistle*, composed of scraps, and incoherent sentences, taken out of St. PAUL’s genuine *epistles*. But the impostor hath discovered himself, by his awkward forgery. Not to mention, that the spurious *epistle* wants the attestation of the most early fathers. (4, and lastly,) That expression, [*the epistle from Laodicea,*] hath, by others, been interpreted to signifie, “that, which is commonly “called the *epistle to the Ephesians*; which St. PAUL is reckoned to “have written, originally, to the christians at Laodicea. And, from “thence, the Colossians were to get it; and to read it, in their church; “as well as to communicate *their epistle* to them.” And this is the interpretation, which seems to me, to give the onely natural and genuine sense of the words.—Tychicus, I suppose, did, according to the



the APOSTLE's order, go first to *Colosse*; where (after some time) he left *Onesimus*, and the letter to the *Colossians*. Then he went on, to *Laodicea*, and delivered the APOSTLE's letter to them; ordering them to get it transcribed, before the messengers, from the church of *Colosse*, came; who were to bring them a copy of the APOSTLE's letter; and to carry back a copy of the other, from *Laodicea*. And hence it was, that the APOSTLE called it [*the epistle from Laodicea*.]

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A third argument, which may incline us to think that this was the epistle from *Laodicea*, mentioned Col. iv. 16. is, not onely, that they were sent, at the same time, and by the same person; but the remarkable similitude, which there is, between the two epistles. They plainly appear to have been twin epistles; conceived, and brought forth, almost at the same time. So that, while the form, matter, sense, and expressions, of the epistle to the *Colossians*, were fresh in the APOSTLE's mind, he sat down and wrote the other epistle. And it was with great propriety, that he gave orders for the reading of both the epistles, in both the churches. (1.) As there is such an uncommon similitude between them. So that the reading the second would, in either church, confirm what they had already read in the first. And, (2.) As the epistle to *Laodicea* contains several of the same things, in a more diffused, but more sublime, style. And there are, likewise, some things added, which are not in the epistle to the *Colossians*. On the contrary, many of the same things, which are said in so elevated and sublime a manner, in the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, are said in a more plain and simple style, in the epistle to the *Colossians*. And, it likewise containeth some cautions of moment, which are not mentioned in the other epistle: Such as "the warning them against the worship of angels, and the "jewish distinction of meats and drinks, and some voluntary mortifications of the body; which are reckoned to have been more "peculiar to the sect of the *Essenes*; some of whom are said to "have lived in those parts of *Asia minor*." Where the two epistles treated of the same subject, they were like a comment upon each other. And, where they treated of different subjects, the one of them might instruct them, in such things, as were not contained in the other.

Fourthly. *Marcion*, who flourished in the beginning of the second century, and who lived at *Sinope*, in *Paphlagonia*, which was in *Asia minor*, as well as *Laodicea*, affirmed, "that that, which we commonly call the epistle to the *Ephesians*, was actually an epistle to the  
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An. Christ. 63. Nero. 9. *Laodiceans*." Most probably, he had heard so, from such as knew the fact, and could inform him; or rather, had seen some of the *manuscripts*, which gave it *that title*.

Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VII. Acts xxviii. 29. It is true, *Marcion* was a *noted hæretic*; and the testimony of such a person is not easily credited. Indeed, if calling this *the epistle to the Laodiceans*, had any way favored his peculiar tenets, I think there would have been some reason to suspect his testimony, and to have been jealous of it's being a wilful misrepresentation: because I find that all parties have been too guilty of *that horrible wickedness*, which hath been often called by the soft name of *pious frauds*. But (as Dr. Mill well observeth) there is nothing of *hæretical pravity*, in this assertion of *Marcion*; whatever his other sentiments were. And, I confesse, I can see no reason why his word should not be taken, in a matter of fact; and where he could have no temptation to falsifie.

How it came to have the *title*, of *the epistle to the Ephesians*; which it seems to have had, very early: or how the words [*ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, in *Ephesus*,] got into the first verse, cannot now be determined, with any certainty. Perhaps, through the violent persecutions, which the *christians* underwent, in the *second century*, the *copies* might grow scarce. And the begining of the *manuscripts*, from which they afterwards took many of the *copies*, about *Rome*, might be defective; and be supplied by the *transcribers*, in the best manner they could. Or St. PAUL might order *Tychicus* to deliver a *copy* of that *epistle*, to the church at *Ephesus*, as he returned from *Laodicea*, in his way to *Rome* again. And they (as ambitious of being reckoned among the *christians*, whom the APOSTLE accounted *faithful*; or out of a vane glorious desire of haveing it thought, that the APOSTLE had writen such a long and noble *epistle* to them) might, possibly, intitle it *the epistle of PAUL to the Ephesians*. From whence, others might venture to insert the words, [*ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, in *Ephesus*,] in the first verse. Not that I think this change of the *title* was made, by St. PAUL's order; supposeing he did direct *Tychicus* to carry a *copy* of it to *Ephesus*. For he knew, very well, that the main tenor of the *epistle*, and several particulars in it, could not agree to *that title*. But the weaker, and more zealous *christians*, at *Ephesus*, might not attend to that. And, therefore, venture upon such an alteration.

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\* Tertull. *advers. Marcion*, l. 5. c. 11. p. 476, A. & c. 17. p. 481, B. C. edit. Rigaltii, Paris. 1675.



It is certain, that considerable facts, in *profane history*, have been misrepresented; concerning which, we cannot, now, give so probable an account, of the first occasion of the mistake, or forgery. By these, therefore, or some such, means, the alteration might be made. And, when *Marcion* (who had lived more out of the way, during the violent persecutions) brought them a *more correct copy*, to *Rome*, it is probable enough, that such, as disliked his other sentiments; and would have nothing to do with him, or his party; might disregard his testimony; and rather be more tenacious of calling it *The epistle of PAUL to the Ephesians*, through their zealous opposition to *so notorious an hæretic*.

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[Concerning this subject, the reader may see more, in the letter to the author, at the end of this second volume; and in the third volume, or appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. V.]

## CHAP. X. SECT. VIII.

*The History and synopsis of St. PAUL's epistle to the Laodiceans; which is commonly called the epistle to the Ephesians.*

“**H**AVEING heard that there were *christian churches*, planted, at *Laodicea*, *Hierapolis*, *Colosse*, and other places; St. PAUL wrote this letter; the original copy of which he sent to *Laodicea*; but designed that it should be transcribed, for the use of other churches. And he wrote it, onely in his own name; because *Timothy* (perhaps) was not known to the *christians*, to whom he wrote. There were multitudes of *jews*, and *judaizeing christians*, in *Asia minor*. And, therefore, he not onely be- gineth the *epistle*, with asserting his *apostolic character*, PAUL, an APOSTLE of JESUS CHRIST, &c. to such *christians*, as are faithful, and retain the purity of the *gospel*;" but he wrote the whole of it, chiefly with a view to preserve them, in the pure, unmixed, *christian doctrine*; against all the arts and delusions of *judaizeing opposers*; who (as he was afraid) would be apt, now he was in confinement, to take that opportunity to unsettle the minds of the *gentile converts*, by attempting to bring them into subjection to the *law of Moses*.



Written

from

Rome,

An. Christ.

63.

Nero. 9.

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It is observable, that the *style* of *this epistle* is more rapturous, and sublime, than that of many others. So elevated was the APOSTLE, in considering the goodnesse of GOD, which was manifested, in takeing such a number of *gentiles* into the *church*, under the *gospel-dispensation*!

“ After his usual *benediction*, of wishing them all happinesse, from GOD, and from the LORD JESUS CHRIST; he procedes to praise GOD, for his great goodnesse, manifested in his calling the *gentiles*, into *his church*, under the *gospel*. Though it was nothing, but what he had designed, for many ages; even before the giving of the *law of Moses*. And the end of his choosing the *gentiles*, to be *his people*, under the *gospel*, was, that they should live holy lives; in expectation of pardon and acceptance with GOD, through JESUS CHRIST. This *mystery*, of GOD’s calling the *uncircumcised gentiles* into the *christian church*, and adding them to the *jewish converts*, was reveled to the APOSTLE, more clearly, than ever it had been to the *antient prophets*. And all the difference, was, that the *jews* had the first offers; and the *gentiles*, the last.

“ The *Laodiceans*, and other *gentiles*, in that neighborhood, whom he had never seen, had imbraced the *christian faith*. And the APOSTLE acquaints them that he had, during his present confinement, heard of their *conversion to christianity*, and of their love to all the *christians*. For which he praised GOD; as well as prayed earnestly, that they might increase in the knowledge of the *christian doctrine*; and of the love, which GOD had manifested, to the *converts*, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*, through JESUS CHRIST; who is constituted *the head of the church*; which is made up of all *believers*, wherever dispersed; whether they were formerly *jews* or *gentiles*.

Ch. II.

“ The APOSTLE compareth the *conversion* of the *idolatrous gentiles* to the raising of the dead. For they had been dead in sin, and were now raised to holinesse of life, by JESUS CHRIST; by whom, if they persevered in holinesse, they would finally be exalted to perfect glory and happinesse. But, he letteth them know, that they, by their former conduct, had by no means merited such a favor. No! it proceeded wholly from the free grace, and unmerited goodnesse, of GOD; in which he had surprized them, by his kindnesse, when their works deserved other sort of treatment. But, as he had sent the *gospel* among them, according to his antient purpose; he expected that they should forsake their wicked courses, and live virtuously; always remembering GOD’s gracious treatment of them, who had now broke down the partition-wall, of the *ceremonial law*, which formerly separated between the *jews* and *gentiles*; and had united them into *one church*, or spiritual building. And all this was effected, not by an observation of the *law of Moses*, but by the death of CHRIST; by which, he had abolished that former *dispensation*, and introduced a better. And into this last dispensation he had taken the *gentiles*; who, as a part of this *spiritual temple*, are built up on the foundation of the APOSTLES and *prophets*, JESUS CHRIST himself  
“ being



“ being the chief corner-stone, which unites and supports the whole building. *Written from Rome, An. Christ. 63.*

“ As, therefore, GOD had accepted the *gentiles*, into his church, and as *his people*, equally with the *jewish converts*; the APOSTLE of the *gentiles* now writes, to these new converts, as part of his care; and doubted not but they would regard what he said, if they had heard of his being the APOSTLE of the *gentiles*, and of the abundant *revelations*, which he had received; (though, if they had not heard of them, they might, in part, collect his knowledge of the *christian doctrine*, from what he had already said, in this *epistle*;) particularly, concerning the *mystery* of GOD’s calling in the *uncircumcised* and *idolatrous gentiles*, without any subjection to the *law of Moses*; which was first, and most clearly, reveled to St. PAUL; who, as he had once persecuted the church, looked upon himself as the least of all *christians*, and one that deserved no such favor. Notwithstanding which, GOD, in great goodnesse, did communicate this knowledge to him; that he might manifest it to mankind. He was, indeed, under confinement, for preaching that very *doctrine*. But his suffering was a proof of his sincerity: and the *gentile christians* had reason to glory in it. However; confined as he was, he prayed that the GOD and father of all would confirm them, in the *true doctrine*, and in the practice, of *christianity*; that they might share in the privileges and blessings of the people of GOD. *Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VIII. Acts xxviii. 29. Ch. III.*

“ The *idolatrous gentiles* were very ignorant and wicked. And, therefore, there was great occasion for the APOSTLE to presse such, as had been lately converted, from among them, to live as became the *gospel*; in humility, patience, and charity. They were to consider, that all *christians* were like the members of one and the same body, animated by one and the same spirit; believeing in one GOD, and one LORD JESUS CHRIST, from whom they derived their *spiritual gifts*; who first died, and then rose again, and ascended into heaven. And the *spiritual gifts*, which he communicated to men, soon after his ascension, were such as qualified some to be APOSTLES; others, to be *prophets*; some, *evangelists*; others, *pastors* and *teachers*; with a view to instruct mankind in the *christian doctrine*, and to gather a complete and well-formed church, from among both *jews* and *gentiles*. If this church be compared to the human body, CHRIST is the head, and his *disciples* the members; who are firmly united, with various joints and ligaments, to him, and to one another; and are to grow up, to perfection, by their union with him. But they could never maintain this union with CHRIST; unlesse they forsook those vices, which the other *gentiles* persisted in, while they wandered after *idols*, and refused to receive and obey the *gospel*. If the *christians*, to whom he wrote, had had a full account of the nature of *christianity*, he intimates that they would clearly see the necessity of changing their course of life; and of abstaining from lying, malice, theft, and idleness; obscene discourse, violent and railing speeches, and all passion and bitterness of spirit: and of practising the contrary virtues, both



Written from Rome, An. Christ. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VIII. Acts xxviii. 29. Chap. V.

" towards their *neighbors*, and in their own more private conduct. For this  
 " was what became the children of GOD.  
 " So important a matter did St. PAUL reckon it, that *christians* should  
 " live pious, and virtuous lives, that he repetes the injunctions again; re-  
 " commending mutual love among *christians*; from the love, which  
 " CHRIST had manifested to them all. But (as the *idolatrous gentiles* were  
 " so much addicted to *uncleanness*, and thought some *species* of it not cri-  
 " minal;) he again acquaints the *christians*, that all *uncleanness* is highly cri-  
 " minal; and that even obscene conversation was unbecomeing such as had  
 " imbraced the *gospel*: That all such as indulged themselves in sensual and  
 " bodily lusts, must not expect to inherit the *kingdom of GOD*; but would,  
 " certainly, fall under the divine displeasure. And that such crimes would  
 " be more aggravated in *christians*, because of their superior knowlege.  
 " Nay; he intimates, that the ignorant world was guilty of them, to such  
 " a degree, as a *christian* would blush to speak of.—Instead of drinking  
 " to excess, and entertaining one another with wanton songs, he recom-  
 " mended it to such of them, as had the *gifts of the spirit*, to entertain  
 " one another, with singing psalms, and hymns, and songs of the *spirit*;  
 " accompanied with the melody of the heart, which was most acceptable  
 " to GOD.  
 " *Christianity* altered nothing, in their civil rights, or social duties. And  
 " therefore, he ordered *christian* wives to be in subjection to their own  
 " husbands; as the *church* is subject to CHRIST. On the other hand,  
 " *christian* husbands are obliged to love their own wives; as CHRIST hath,  
 " also, loved *his church*. For which, he condescended to lay down his  
 " life: and which he purifieth; that it may be, at the last, perfect, glo-  
 " rious, and happy. *Christian* children are to obey their parents. For so  
 " the *law of Moses* required; and so doeth *christianity*, and the *law of na-*  
 " *ture* require. And *christian* parents should, on the other hand, deal  
 " tenderly and affectionately with their children; and be more careful,  
 " than others, to give them a pious and virtuous education. *Christian*  
 " slaves (for such their *servants* were, commonly, in those days) continued  
 " under obligations to serve their own masters, faithfully and conscienti-  
 " ously; as depending upon it, that they, who behaved well, would, at  
 " the last day, be rewarded by CHRIST; whether they have been slaves,  
 " or free-men. And *christian* masters were bound to treat their slaves with  
 " tenderneffe and humanity: as remembering that they had a master, in  
 " heaven; to whom they were accountable, and with whom there will be  
 " no respecting of persons. And, all these duties, husbands and wives,  
 " parents and children, masters and servants, were obliged to perform,  
 " since their imbraceing the *gospel*;—whether the persons, to whom they  
 " owed them, were *christians*, or no.  
 " Considering the temptations, which the late *converts* to *christianity*  
 " would meet with, while they lived among their old acquaintance and  
 " *heathen* neighbors; he recommendeth *watchfulness* and *prayer*, under the  
 " figure of *christian armor*; which was able to defend them, at all points.  
 And



“ And then he begs that they would pray for all *christians*; and for him particularly, who was now in confinement: that he might have resolution still to promote *christianity*, notwithstanding his present discouraging circumstances. He letteth them know, that he had sent *Tychicus*, to acquaint them with his affairs; and to learn how things went among them.—And, after a general *salutation* of all the *christians*, he concludeth, with a view peculiarly to the fierce opposition, and corrupt doctrines, of the *judaizers*; May the divine favor be with all them, who love the LORD JESUS CHRIST in *incorruption*! Amen!”

Written from Rome, An. Christi. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VIII. Acts xxviii. 29.

## CHAP. X. SECT. IX.

### The History and synopsis of St. PAUL's epistle to the Colossians.

*Colosse* was a populous, wealthy, and large, city of *Phrygia major*, built upon the river *Lycus*; and equally distant from *Laodicea*, on one side, and *Hierapolis* on the other. There was a *christian church* planted; but, by whom, doeth not now appear. That St. PAUL did not plant it, is, I think, unquestionable; [from *chap. ii. 1.*] where he saith, that “neither the *Colossians*, nor *Laodiceans*, had then seen his face in the flesh.” Though I think it highly probable, that some of St. PAUL's converts had planted a *christian church*, at *Colosse*, as well as *Laodicea*: because they were so well established in the true *gospel-doctrine*; and, particularly, with respect to the liberty of the *gentile converts*; which was what St. PAUL, of all the APOSTLES, most clearly understood, and most earnestly maintained, against all opposers.

I should, indeed, have thought that *Epaphras* had converted the *Colossians*; if he had not been sent, by that church, to the APOSTLE, as their messenger; to acquaint him with their affairs, and to inquire after his welfare. But I can hardly think they would send away the founder of their church, whilst the church was in it's young and tender state. Whoever converted them; the APOSTLE of the gentiles was highly concerned for them, as soon as he heard of their haveing:



An. Christ. haveing imbraced *christianity*. And, therefore, he resolved to take  
 63.  
 Nero. 9. the first opportunity to write to them.

Book III. He was now *in bonds*, for maintaining the freedom of the gen-  
 Ch. X. tile converts from all subjection to the law of *Moses*. And, for fear  
 Sect. IX. the judaizers should take this opportunity to pervert the gentile  
 Acts churches, he wrote several *epistles*; to reprove the guilty, to settle  
 xxviii. the wavering, and to commend such as remained stedfast. And he  
 29. heard, with pleasure, from *Epaphras*, that the *Colossians* were of the  
 number of those, who continued firm in the *true christian doctrine*.  
 But, as the *jews* and *judaizeing christians* abounded in *Asia minor*,  
 and there was danger of the *Colossians* being infected by them; he  
 took pains to obviate such difficulties, as they might be apt to throw  
 in the way of the lately converted *gentiles*. And, particularly, to  
 guard against the doctrine of the *Essenes*; who paid a great venera-  
 tion to *angels*; and were peculiar, in their washings, meats, and bo-  
 dily exercises. And it deserves to be taken notice of, that, except-  
 ing this place, there are few, or no, references to the *sect* of the  
*Essenes*, throughout the new testament. Though *Josephus* is very  
 particular, and expresse, in his account of them; and representeth  
 them, as a *sect*, which was very remarkable; and pretty numerous,  
 and well known, before and in his own days; *that is*, in and a-  
 bout the the time of the ministry of CHRIST, and his APOSTLES.  
 But they lived very retired; converseing onely with *their own sect*:  
 and, probably, very few of them imbraced *christianity*.

What hath been hinted, of the affinity between *this* and the  
*epistle to the Laodiceans*, must be visible to every one, who studies,  
 or carefully compares, the *two epistles*. The same run of thoughts,  
 and frequently the same expressions, which he had used, in writeing  
 to the *Laodiceans*, seem planely to have been fresh in the APOSTLE'S  
 mind, when he sat down to write this *epistle to the Colossians*. And,  
 though that to the *Philippians*, which was writen not long after these  
 two, may be, to great advantage, compared with them, in order to  
 understand all the three; yet the resemblance between the two former  
 is much more remarkable.

Some time after *this christian church* was planted, some difficulties  
 seem to have risen among them. And, therefore, they sent away  
*Epaphras*, to *Rome*; to acquaint the APOSTLE with their conversion  
 to *christianity*, and with the state of their affairs. But to the great  
 grief of the APOSTLE, it happened that *Epaphras* was apprehended,  
 in that *imperial city*, and put in custody: I suppose, for preaching  
 the *gospel* there. [See *Philemon*, ver. 23.] He, therefore, could not  
 send



send him back to *Colosse*. But he sent *Tychicus* and *Onesimus*. And, by their hands, conveyed *this epistle* to the *Colossians*.

“ **A**S the judaizing christians abounded in those parts, he begins with  
 “ asserting his apostolic authority; PAUL, an APOSTLE of JESUS <sup>Written from Rome, An. Christ. 63.</sup>  
 “ CHRIST,” &c. And he wrote, in his own name, and in the name of <sup>Nero. 9.</sup>  
 “ his beloved *Timothy*; because several of the *Colossians* might, very pro-  
 “ bably, know *Timothy*; though the *Laodiceans* did not. He directs this <sup>Book III. Ch. X.</sup>  
 “ letter, To the faithful christian brethren, at *Colosse*, in particular; that is,  
 “ to such, there, as retained the pure gospel-doctrine, and would not regard <sup>Seet. IX.</sup>  
 “ the judaizers. And (after wishing them all possible happiness, from GOD, <sup>Acts</sup>  
 “ and the LORD JESUS CHRIST) he goeth on, thus: I thank GOD, for the <sup>xxviii.</sup>  
 “ account, which I have received from *Epaphras*, of your conversion to <sup>29.</sup>  
 “ christianity; and that you expresse so much love to all the christians; as <sup>Chap. IV.</sup>  
 “ well as behave, in other respects, becoming the gospel. And, ever since  
 “ he brought me this good news, I have heartily prayed, that you may  
 “ increase in the knowlege of the christian doctrine, and live piously and  
 “ virtuously; as it requires you should: particularly, that you may bear,  
 “ with patience, any persecutions, or discouragements, to which your re-  
 “ gard to the gospel may expose you. Considering you were lately idolatrous  
 “ gentiles, how much ought you to praise GOD; who hath translated you,  
 “ out of that kingdom of darkness, into CHRIST’S kingdom, which is a  
 “ kingdom of light? For it is owing to his death, that you are brought  
 “ into the church of GOD, and may hope for the remission of your sins.  
 “ The jews, and judaizing christians, and particularly some of the sect of  
 “ the *Essenes*, pretend a great veneration for angels. But JESUS CHRIST,  
 “ who hath admitted you into the number of his people, is much superior  
 “ to all the angels. For he is the image of the invisible GOD, and the first-  
 “ borne of every creature. Nay; by him, GOD at first created, and now  
 “ governs, all things. But he is, more particularly, the head of the church;  
 “ and was the first, who rose from the dead, never to die any more. In  
 “ one word, it hath pleased the father, that, in him, should all fulness  
 “ dwell. And, (what deserveth the peculiar regard of the gentile christians)  
 “ by his death, the ceremonial law is abolished; that wall of partition bro-  
 “ ken down, which formerly excluded the gentiles from being of his church  
 “ and people. But now he hath reconciled, or admitted, them; in order  
 “ to their being virtuous and holy, and retaining the purity of the christian  
 “ doctrine; which is preached to all mankind; and particularly by me,  
 “ the APOSTLE of the gentiles. I am, it is true, in bonds, at present; for  
 “ preaching to the gentiles, and standing up for the unmixed gospel. But I  
 “ am not discouraged thereby. For the mystery, communicated to me, by  
 “ CHRIST, I have made known, and will again make known; that, by  
 “ my means, a large number of gentiles may be saved, in the day of the  
 “ LORD. I am, more particularly, anxious for you, at *Colosse*, and *Laodi- Ch. II.*  
 “ cea, and the other gentile churches, which have never seen me; that you  
 “ may



Written " may be rightly instructed in the *christian doctrine*, as well as supported  
 from " under persecution; and may not regard the insinuations of such, as  
 Rome, " would tempt you to pay worship to *angels*, or comply with other *jewish*  
 An. Christ. " *customs*. For the *christian religion*, alone and of itself, is sufficient to in-  
 63. " struct and save you. And, therefore, I beseech you, to continue sted-  
 Nero. 9. " fast in the truth and purity of it. Regard not their subtile and vane  
 Book III. " philosophy. Mind not their antient traditions, nor comply with their  
 Ch. X. " rites and ceremonial observations. *Christianity* will afford you more use-  
 Sect. IX. " ful and substantial knowlege, and make you complete, and acceptable,  
 Acts " in the sight of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST; who is above the *angels*,  
 xxviii. " as well as above all *mankind*. Your *christian baptism*, by which you were  
 29. " initiated into the *gospel-kingdom*, rendereth the *circumcision of the flesh* in-  
 " tirely needlesse; if you take care (as it directs and requires of you) to  
 " die unto sin, and rise again unto holinesse. The *judaizers* do, very un-  
 " justly, insist upon your complying with the *ceremonial law*, in order to  
 " your acceptance with GOD:—Seeing CHRIST hath struck a nail through  
 " that writing; as men do, when they abolish a *law*; and hath fastened  
 " it to the crosse; haveing intirely vacated it, by his death. Yea; and the  
 " *angels* likewise, whom the *Essenes* name with such reverence, and to  
 " whom they would tempt you to pay homage; even these very *angels* are  
 " now all *ministring spirits*, subjected to CHRIST, (since his death and ex-  
 " altation) as their *head and LORD*. Let no man, therefore, tempt you to  
 " distinguish between days and meats, as the *jews* do. For that shadowy  
 " dispensation is abolished by *christianity*, which is the substance. And  
 " never give into the worship of *angels*, or the pretended purity of the *Es-*  
 " *senes*; which consists in bodily exercises, and voluntary mortifications.  
 " For, if you do, you forfeit your reward, as *christians*; and reject CHRIST,  
 " *the head*; to whom all true *christians*, like the several members of the  
 " same body, are firmly united; and in whom alone, they can finally be  
 " made happy. You have not been *baptized* into the *jewish religion*, or in  
 " the name of *angels*; but in the name of CHRIST. You have, therefore,  
 " nothing to do with the *jewish religion*; or with the tenets of the *Essenes*,  
 " which are mere *human doctrines*; but may lawfully use all sorts of whole-  
 " some food; and are not obliged to such severe mortifications, or bodily  
 " exercises; which onely carry a show of piety; but are of no moment,  
 Ch. III. " in comparison to real virtue and true goodnesse. Laying aside, there-  
 " fore, these human inventions, and earthly, temporal, institutions; you  
 " are to raise your minds to heaven, and to the purity and happinesse of  
 " that blessed place; where CHRIST is exalted, at the right-hand of GOD.  
 " For you, *christians*, are, by your *baptism*, dead, both to those carnal  
 " ordinances, and to the vices of the *idolatrous* parts of the world; and  
 " expect to be glorified, when CHRIST shall appear, as universal judge.  
 " But, as he will glorifie none, but the pious, and virtuous; you must  
 " not indulge yourselves, either in impurity, or malice. These are the  
 " vices, for which a wicked world will be condemned. And you your-  
 " selves were once guilty of them. But, now, all passion, malice, railing,  
 " or



“ or obscene speeches, are justly abhorred by you. And, since your con-  
 “ version to *christianity*, you know that lying, as well as uncleanness, and  
 “ all other vices, cannot but be odious to a god of truth and purity. He  
 “ doeth, indeed, under the *gospel*, most graciously admit both *jews* and  
 “ *gentiles*; persons of all nations and conditions; into *his church*; without  
 “ difference or distinction. But then, as he hath chosen to take you *gen-*  
 “ *tiles*, as well as the *believing jews*, into *his church*; he expects that you  
 “ should behave accordingly: that you should abound in meekness and  
 “ charity; that you should patiently bear injuries, and readily forgive such  
 “ as have offended you; as readily, as *CHRIST* will forgive you, when pe-  
 “ nitent. But, again, I recommend *charity*, as the brightest of the *christian*  
 “ *virtues*; and hope, that you will be particularly careful, to maintain  
 “ peace and union one with another. Be frequently discoursing together,  
 “ about the *christian doctrine*. For this will instruct and admonish you.  
 “ And, when you would entertain one another; let it not be, as the *hea-*  
 “ *thens* do; who drink to excess, and then sing lewd and wanton songs.  
 “ But do you teach and admonish one another, in psalms, and hymns, and  
 “ spiritual songs; chiefly regarding the melody of the heart. Let *CHRIST*,  
 “ and the *true gospel-doctrine*, be magnified and promoted, in whatever you  
 “ do. You are under the same, or stronger, obligations to *social duties*,  
 “ since you became *christians*: (though you are freed from *idolatry*, and  
 “ are under no obligation to observe the *ceremonial law of Moses*.) Parti-  
 “ cularly; wives should obey their own husbands, and husbands love their  
 “ own wives; and not behave with passion, or bitterness, towards them.  
 “ Children must obey their parents, in all their lawful commands. For so  
 “ the *christian law* requires. And parents must not needlessly provoke, or  
 “ discourage, their children. Slaves should obey their masters, out of con-  
 “ science; as remembering they are accountable to *god*; and as hoping  
 “ for a reward from their great master, *CHRIST*. And all these duties,  
 “ the *christians* are to perform; whether the persons, to whom they are  
 “ due, be *christians*, or no. If you do not perform them, you must ex-  
 “ pect to be punished, (whatever your stations are,) by that righteous judge,  
 “ with whom is no respect of persons.

“ As the slaves, who had imbraced *christianity*, were to be faithful; so  
 “ *christian masters* were to be just, and compassionate, towards their *slaves*;  
 “ as considering that they had a *master*, even *CHRIST*, to whom they were  
 “ accountable. He recommends to them the great duties of *prayer* and  
 “ *praise*; and desires that they would particularly pray for him; that, (not-  
 “ withstanding his present confinement) he might preach the *true gospel-*  
 “ *doctrine*. He exhorts them to a peaceable behavior; lest they should,  
 “ otherwise, provoke any to persecute them: and to be, likewise, prudent  
 “ and virtuous, in their speech and conversation. *Tychicus*, saith he, who  
 “ is a *true christian*; and one, for whom I have a very great respect, will  
 “ acquaint you with all my affairs. And, therefore, I will not write a-  
 “ bout them; but refer you to his account. My design, in sending him,  
 “ is, that you may acquaint him with the affairs of *your church*; and that

Written  
 from  
 Rome,  
 An. Christ.  
 63.  
 Nero. 9.  
 Book III.  
 Ch. X.  
 Sect. IX.  
 Acts  
 xxviii.



Written from Rome, An. Christ 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. IX. Acts xxviii. 29.

“ he may comfort you, under any discourageing circumstances. Along  
 “ with him, I have sent *Onesimus*, who is a *Colossian*.—He is become a *true*  
 “ *christian*, and is much in my favor. Of him you may, likewise, inquire;  
 “ and he will confirm *Tychicus* his account. *Aristarchus*, the *Macedonian*,  
 “ who went with me, from *Cæsarea*, to *Rome*; and who is now under con-  
 “ finement, for preaching the *gospel*, in this city; desireth me to send his  
 “ *salutations* to you. As doeth, likewise, *John Mark*; who designeth to  
 “ visit you shortly. I hope you will treat him with the respect, which he  
 “ deserves. And *Jesus*, surnamed *Justus*, sends his *salutations* to you.  
 “ These are all *jewish christians*; and yet they have been very serviceable,  
 “ to me, in my present confinement; and have greatly promoted the *true*  
 “ *gospel-doctrine*. Your messenger, *Epaphras*, sends his *salutations*; and  
 “ prays, most earnestly, that you may continue *good christians*. Nay; I  
 “ must farther acquaint you, that he is very much concerned for the wel-  
 “ fare of *your church*; and of the *christians*, at *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*.  
 “ *Luke*, the *physician*, for whom I have a particular affection and value, sa-  
 “ luteth you. And so doeth *Demas*, also. I desire you would, in my  
 “ name, salute the *christians* at *Laodicea*: and, particularly, *Nymphas*;  
 “ and the *church* in his house. When you have read *this epistle*, publicly,  
 “ in *your church*, send it to *Laodicea*, that it may be read in the *church*  
 “ there; and get the *epistle* from *Laodicea*; and read it also in *your church*.  
 “ Put *Archippus* in mind of his duty, as a minister of *CHRIST*; that he  
 “ may be faithful. I, *PAUL*, have wrote *my salutation* of you all, with  
 “ my own hand. Pray for me, who am *in chains*. I wish you the divine  
 “ favor. *Amen!*”

## CHAP. X. SECT. X.

*The history of St. PAUL's writeing the epistle to Philemon.*

**C** OLOSSE was a city of *Phrygia major*, built upon the river  
*Lycus*, about sixteen miles east from *Hierapolis*, and about twen-  
 ty-eight miles almost eastward from *Laodicea*; which last was built  
 upon the banks of the same river, *Lycus*<sup>a</sup>. At *Colosse* lived *Phile-*  
*mon*; who was, very probably, a native of that country. For *Phi-*  
*lemon* was a common name among the *Phrygians*.

The

<sup>a</sup> See the Letter, at the end of this second volume.



The nation of *Pbrygia* was proverbial for being of a slaveish and intractable disposition. And some have alleged, that *Philemon* might be of the same rough and intractable disposition; which might occasion the apostle's taking so much pains to obtain *Onesimus* his pardon, and procure a thorough reconciliation. But such things should not, I think, be said from mere conjecture: especially as the apostle has insinuated the contrary; and, in other places, commended *Philemon's* benevolence and charity. The truth of the matter is: the provocation was very great; and *Philemon* had reason to be much displeased with *Onesimus*. He had robbed him; and run away from him, as far as *Rome*. That would have exasperated any man of spirit.—*Grotius* observes “that masters had a power to torture their slaves, who behaved ill, and even to put them to death, without applying to the magistrate: and that this was agreeable, not onely to the *roman*, but also to the *græcian*, law.” *Onesimus*, therefore, might well be afraid of returning to his master again, without some great and powerful intercession, in his favor. And the apostle might very reasonably labor the point, as he does, with great earnestness and address.

Written from Rome, An. Christ. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. X. Acts xxviii. 29.

That *Philemon* lived at *Colosse*, may appear from Col. iv. 9. where (writing to the *Colossians*) the apostle calls *Onesimus*, one of them. And from his saluting *Archippus*, in this letter to *Philemon*, [ver. 2.] who appears to have been a minister of the church at *Colosse*. [Col. iv. 17.]

*Theodoret* is reckoned to have flourished about the beginning of the fifth century. And yet, in his preface to this epistle, he says, “that *Philemon's* house remained at *Colosse* unto his time;” that is, above three hundred years after the writing of this epistle.

The keeping one or more slaves; the having a church, or number of christians, in his own house; the refreshing of the bowels of the saints, and providing lodgings for the apostle; are proofs that *Philemon* was a man of some distinction, and of a considerable estate. This seems confirmed by the polite and respectful manner, with which the apostle addresses him.

He was converted, most probably, from an idolatrous gentile, to the christian faith. From ver. 19. some have been inclined to think that St. PAUL converted him. But, ver. 5. the apostle says, “he had [onely] heard, of *Philemon's* faith in Christ, &c.” which was the phrase made use of, when he wrote to the christians, whom he had never seen. [Eph. i. 15. and iii. 2, &c. Col. i. 4. and ii. 1.] I, therefore, incline to think, that, during his long stay at *Ephesus*,



Written

from

Rome,

An. Christ.

63.

Nero. 9.

Book III.

Ch. X.

Sect. X.

Acts

xxviii.

29.

some of the *Colossians* had gone to *Ephesus*, and there heard him preach the christian doctrine [Acts xix. 10. and xx. 31.] Or that the apostle sent out some of his assistants, and planted the gospel at *Colosse*: and that *Philemon* received the gospel, from some of the apostle's converts, or assistants; perhaps *Timothy*, or some of those mentioned, Col. iv. 10, &c. Philem. ver. 23, &c. If the apostle had not come into those parts, preaching the gospel to the gentiles, *Philemon* had (very likely) never become a christian. And, therefore, well might the apostle say, "that *Philemon* owed unto him, himself, or his own "soul."

This *Philemon* had formerly a slave, called *Onesimus*, who had robbed him; and then run away from him, as far as *Rome*. Whether he repented of what he had done, and voluntarily went to the apostle; or how they came to meet there, is not said. But the apostle, during his confinement, in his own hired house, in that imperial city, converted him to the christian faith, baptized him; and kept him, for some time, to wait upon himself; 'till, by his conduct, he had confirmed the truth and sincerity of his conversion. And, when *Onesimus* was determined to return to his master again, the apostle wrote this letter in his behalf. The design of it, was, to beg of *Philemon* to forgive him, and take him into his family and favor again. For he was become a good christian, and would be a better servant than ever.

This epistle was written, during the apostle's first confinement at *Rome*; [Acts xxviii. 30.] and, according to the best chronologers, about the year of the vulgar *Æra*, 63. of *Nero*, 9. From ver. 22. of this epistle to *Philemon*, it appears that the apostle had expectations of being set at liberty. And, therefore, it is probable that this epistle was written towards the conclusion of those two years confinement.

The epistle to the *Laodiceans*, (commonly called the epistle to the *Ephesians*) and the epistle to the *Colossians*, were written, about the same time, and sent by the same persons. Accordingly; we find salutations from, and to, several of the same persons. [Compare Philem. ver. 23, 24. with Col. iv. 10; 12; 14. and Philem. ver. 2. with Col. iv. 17.] "*Tychicus* onely had the charge of the epistle to the "*Laodiceans*, *Onesimus*, of this to *Philemon*. And they were both "joined in the delivery of that to the church of *Colosse*. In their "passage from *Rome*, they landed at the most convenient port, they "could, for their journey towards *Colosse*; whither, it is likely, they "went first. For what *St. Paul* writes to *Timothy*, [*Tychicus have I sent*



“sent to Ephesus, 2 Tim. iv. 12.] must relate to another journey, long after this; that epistle to Timothy being of a later date, by some years. Upon their arrival at Colosse, the immediate business of Onesimus, was, to deliver the epistle, sent to Philemon; which so nearly concerned himself. For the apostle could never have recommended him, in such strong terms, to the church at Colosse, (as he does, Col. iv. 9.) but upon a supposition that his master, Philemon, would, upon reading that letter, be reconciled to him. In order to this, Onesimus must first wait upon his master, and make his submission to him. — This reconciliation, therefore, was probably effected, before the apostle’s letter to the church, at Colosse, was publicly read among them. After the affair of Onesimus was over, the epistle to the church at Colosse was to be delivered; in which, both Tychicus and Onesimus were jointly concerned. And, when this was done, Onesimus had no farther orders, from the apostle. But Tychicus was to carry the epistle to the Laodiceans, by himself. For which reason, his name onely is mentioned in it. [Eph. vi. 21.] However; Tychicus did not immediately leave Colosse, after the delivery of the letter to that church: but stayed some time, to acquaint them with the state of St. Paul’s affairs; and, likewise, to inform himself of their circumstances, to make a report at his return. [Col. iv. 7, 8.] He then proceeded, with the remaining letter, to Laodicea; acquainted them with his having been at Colosse; that they were to expect a copy of the apostle’s letter to that church, from thence; and that the messenger, who should bring it, was to carry back a copy of the letter, which had been sent to them; agreeably to St. Paul’s direction, Col. iv. 16.” [See the Letter at the end of this second volume.]

“Some have called this a private letter, and would not have had it inserted among the apostolic epistles.”—Undoubtedly; the apostles might, upon some occasions, write private letters, as well as other men. Suppose this was onely a private letter, nothing gives one a better idea of a man’s character than his letters to his private friends. And, in this letter, we have the picture of a wise and good man, and a zealous, generous friend; who knew how to condescend to men of low estate, and promote their temporal and spiritual welfare.—But there is no reason for looking upon this, as a mere private letter. For it was all written with the apostle’s own hand; which was much more than that which he called the token in all his epistles. [2 Thess. iii. 17.] It was received, by the primitive christians, as a part

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from  
Rome,  
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part of sacred scripture: and, accordingly, read in the churches.

[But, as to the testimonies of *the fathers*, at large, see Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 2d.] The argument is not mean, nor any

part of this epistle unworthy the great apostle of the gentiles.—

Whoever will carefully study it, will discern a great number of the doctrines and precepts of christianity, expressed or insinuated.

For instance, (1.) In the religious view, or upon a spiritual account, all christians are upon a level. *Onesimus*, the slave, upon becoming a christian, is the apostle's dear son, and *Philemon's* brother.

(2.) Christianity makes no alteration in men's civil affairs. By christian baptism, a slave did not become a freedman. His temporal estate, or condition, was still the same. And, though *Onesimus* was the apostle's son, and *Philemon's* brother, upon a religious account;

yet he was obliged to be *Philemon's* slave for ever; unlesse his master voluntarily gave him his freedom. (3.) Servants should not be taken, or detained, from their own masters, without their masters consent. [See ver. 13, 14.] (4.) We should love, and do good unto, all men. We should not condemn persons of low estate; nor disdain to help the meanest slave, when it is in our power. *The apostle* has here set us an example of benevolence, condescension, and christian charity; which it well becomes us to follow. He took pains with, and converted, a slave; and, in a most affectionate and earnest manner, interceded, with his master, for his pardon. (5.) We should not utterly despair of those who are wicked, but should use our best endeavors to reclame them. Though *Onesimus* had robbed his master, and run away from him, the apostle attempted his conversion, among others; and succeeded therein. (6.) Restitution is due, where an injury has been done; unlesse the injured party freely forgive. Accordingly; the apostle *Paul* gives a promise, under his own hand, for *Onesimus* his makeing restitution, as a matter of justice, if *Philemon* insisted upon it. (7.) We should be grateful to our benefactors. This St. *Paul* touches upon, very gently, ver. 19. where he intimates to *Philemon*, that he owed unto him *himself* also. And, therefore, in point of gratitude, he was obliged to grant his request. (8.) We should forgive the penitent, and be heartily reconciled to them. (9.) *The apostle's* example teaches us to do all we can, to make up quarrels and differences, and reconcile those who are at variance. (10.) A wise man chooses, sometimes, to addresse in a soft and obligeing manner, even in cases where there is authority to command. (11.) The bishops and pastors of the christian church, and all teachers of religion, have here the most glorious example



ample, set before them, to induce them to have a most tender regard to the souls of men of all ranks and conditions; and to endeavor to convert a slave, as well as well as the rich and great, and honorable of the earth. He, who disdained not to teach a slave, a fugitive, and a thief; but preached the doctrine of salvation to him; and took pains with him, 'till he had restored him, to his master, an honest, worthy man;—how disinterested must he have been? To whom would he not condescend? Or whose salvation and happiness would he not endeavor to promote? Would to God there was the same spirit, in all the teachers of christianity, at all times, and in all places! (12.) Here is a most glorious proof of the good effects of christianity, where it is rightly understood, and sincerely imbraced. It transforms a worthless slave and thief, into a pious, virtuous, amiable, and useful, man; makes him not onely happier and better in himself; but a better servant, and better in all relations and circumstances whatever.

Shall an epistle, so full of useful and excellent instructions, be rejected for it's brevity? or because the occasion required that it should be written, concerning one particular person? or addressed to a private man? Men would do well to examine it carefully, before they reject it, or speak of it so slightly.

In this epistle, there are some of the finest strokes of true rhetoric; so that, I think, it may be called *The polite epistle*. Such deference and respect to *Philemon*, such affection and concern for *Onesimus*, such distant but just insinuations, such a genteel and fine addresse, run through the epistle; that it alone might be sufficient to convince us, that *St. Paul* was not unacquainted with the world; nor that weak, visionary enthusiast, which the enemies of revelation have sometimes represented him. [*But of this, see more in the appendix to the paraphrase and notes on the epistle to Philemon.*]

I should think it a very agreeable piece of history, to know the successe, which this letter met with; even though the persons concerned have been so many hundreds of years in their graves. However; the primitive christians preserveing this letter, and placing it in the sacred canon, are strong arguments to induce us to believe that *Philemon* granted the apostle's request, and received *Onesimus* into his house and favor again.

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Rome,  
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“ST. PAUL wrote, in his own name, and in the name of *Timothy*, to  
“*Philemon* and his family, wishing them all happiness, from GOD and  
“the LORD JESUS CHRIST. He thanks GOD, that *Philemon* had imbraced  
“the christian faith, and behaved in so generous a manner to all christi-  
“ans;—in which he greatly rejoiced.

“As an apostle of CHRIST, he could have commanded *Philemon* to  
“have done what was proper: but he rather chose, as the prisoner of  
“CHRIST, to beseech him to receive his beloved son, *Onesimus*, whom he  
“had converted to christianity, dureing his confinement. He confesses, he  
“had formerly not behaved well: but of late he was become another  
“man; and had been so useful to the apostle, in his confinement, that he  
“would have kept him; if *Philemon* had known of it, and consented to  
“it. The providence of GOD had turned his short departure, into the  
“means of his reformation; that his master might receive him, improv-  
“ed, and for life. He, therefore, intreats *Philemon* to receive him as a  
“christian brother; or as he would have received the apostle himself, who  
“ingaged to pay whatever *Onesimus* had wronged his master of; if *Phile-*  
“*mon*, who owed himself unto the apostle, should insist upon it. But he  
“hoped *Philemon* would do more than he had requested of him.

“He desires *Philemon* would provide him a lodging, as hoping that  
“he should be set at liberty. He sends salutations from several of his fel-  
“low-laborers. And concludes with wishing *Philemon's* family the favor  
“of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. *Amen!*”

## CH A P. X. S E C T. XI.

### The history of St. PAUL's epistle to the Philippians.

IT hath already been observed, in the course of *this history*, that  
St. PAUL planted a *christian church*, at *Philippi*; by converting  
*Lydia*, at the *proseucha*; and, afterwards, the *jaylor* and his family,  
in the prison, or jaylor's house. There he cured the *lunatic dam-*  
*fel*, who had pretended to *augury*, or divination; and was treated  
in a cruel manner, by her masters, and the rash *magistrates* of that  
*roman colony*. Afterwards, he visited the *christians*, at *Philippi*,  
once or twice; and farther instructed, and confirmed, them.

Of all the *churches*, of St. PAUL's planting, that at *Philippi*  
seemeth to have had the most tender concern for him. And, though  
they



they appear to have been but a *small Church*, yet they were peculiarly generous towards him. For, when *christianity* was first planted, in *Macedonia*, no other *church* contributed any thing, towards the support of the APOSTLE, but the *Philippians* onely. Nay; when he was at *Thessalonica*, the *metropolis* of *Macedonia*, they sent him presents, once and again, from *Philippi*; that he might not be destitute of the necessaries of life, whilst he planted the *gospel*, in that city. [See *Phil.* iv. 15, 16.] When they heard that St. PAUL was now under confinement, at *Rome*, they showed the same affectionate concern for him, which they had always manifested; and sent *Epaphroditus*, to him, with a present; lest he should want necessaries, during his confinement. From *Epaphroditus*, the APOSTLE learned the present state of *that church*. And by him, when he returned home, he sent them *this epistle*:

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“ Which he wrote, in his own name, and in the name of his beloved *Ti-* Ch. I.  
“ *mothy*; who was with him, when he founded the *church*, at *Philippi*. As,  
“ also, perhaps, when he visited them, afterwards. [*Acts* xx. 3, 4.]  
“ As their affection and liberality was so great; and they continued so  
“ stedfast, in the *true gospel-doctrine*; St. PAUL, in writing to them, would  
“ not assume his *apostolic character*; nor say any thing, which would inti-  
“ mate his having a right to the kindness, which they had shown him.  
“ And, therefore, he begins, “ PAUL and *Timothy*, the servants of JESUS  
“ CHRIST.” And he directs the *epistle* to all the *christians* of that *church*;  
“ together with their *bishops* and *deacons*. For that *church* of *Philippi* was  
“ settled with fixed officers; though few, if any, other of the *churches* were  
“ so settled, when St. PAUL wrote his *epistles* to them.  
“ After wishing the *Philippians* the favor of GOD and of CHRIST JESUS;  
“ and intimating that he prayed for them, constantly; the APOSTLE tells  
“ them, that he had given thanks to GOD, for their conversion to *christia-*  
“ *nity*, ever since they had embraced the *gospel*. For he was satisfied they  
“ would persevere. Which was a comfort to him, now, in his confine-  
“ ment; as it was always. Yea; nothing could yield him more joy, than  
“ the love, which they expressed. And he prayed, that they might be  
“ rewarded in the day of the LORD. And, to that end, that their virtue  
“ and piety might abound more and more.  
“ They were much concerned, to hear of the APOSTLE’s confinement.  
“ And, very probably, had sent him an account of that, by *Epaphroditus*. —  
“ In answer to which, he intimated, that they had no reason to be so much  
“ affected. For his confinement had turned to the advancement of the  
“ *gospel*; and made *christianity* spread, even in the emperor’s family, as well  
“ as through the city of *Rome*: and that other *christians* took courage,  
“ from his success, in his confinement, and preached the *christian doctrine*  
“ the more. Some of the wicked *judaizers* did so, out of a spirit of op-  
Vol. II. R r position;



*Written from Rome, An. Christ. 63. Nero. 9.*  
 Book III. Ch. X. Sect. XI. Acts xxviii. 29.  
 position; in hopes of makeing the APOSTLE to be confined more strictly, and to suffer more; as being a leading man among the *christians*. But others, of a better spirit, did it, to assist the APOSTLE; looking upon him as the grand defender of the faith; and one, whom it would be right to assist, as much as they could. The APOSTLE rejoiced in the attempts of both. For he foresaw that *christianity* would spread the more; and that, in the event, he should be the sooner released, the more it was known what *true christianity* was. He, indeed, was resigned; and willing either to live, or to die; so as might most promote the spreading of the *gospel*. If he lived, he would preach it himself. And, if he died, as a *martyr* for *christianity*, his death would greatly promote the spread of it. Upon these prospects, he scarce knew which to wish for. As for his own part, he was rather inclined to die, and to be with CHRIST; as what was much preferable to this mortal life. But his liveing longer, would be of more advantage to the *christians*. And he was satisfied that GOD would, therefore, spare his life, for the benefit of the *churches*; and, particularly, that he would gratifie the *Philippians*, with the sight of him, again. But (saith he) whether I come, or no; do you live as *christians*. Retain, stedfastly, the *pure christian doctrine*, against all the wiles and threats of adversaries. For you have been honored, not onely in becomeing the disciples of CHRIST; but in haveing, already, suffered persecution for *your religion*.

Ch. II.  
 " In the next place, the APOSTLE recommendeth mutual love and union; and excites them to *humility*, from the most perfect example of CHRIST; who, though he might, without robbery, or usurpation, have continued in the form of a GOD, yet left his state of glory, emptied himself, and took upon him a body; appearing, upon earth, in the humble form of a servant; and becomeing obedient to the painful and ignominious death of the cross. For which condescension, and amazeing humility, GOD hath exalted him to the throne of universal dominion; that all creatures might be subject to him, to the glory of GOD the *father*.

" The *Philippians* had been obedient to the *gospel*, when St. PAUL was among them. He hoped that, much more in his absence, they would promote each other's happiness. For GOD was working among them, that they might both will and act from a principle of benevolence. A peaceable temper was becomeing christians: who were to behave like the children of GOD, and to distinguish themselves from the wicked world around them. If they retained the purity of the *gospel*, he intimateth that he should not look upon his labor, among them, as lost. As for his part, he could chearfully lay down his life for them. And he believed they had as sincere a concern for him; and would be as ready to rejoice in his welfare, as he was in theirs. Being very desirous to comfort and establish them, he hoped to send *Timothy* to them, in a little time; a person of the most excellent character, and well-known to them! And the APOSTLE was in great expectation of shortly



ly being set at liberty; and of following *Timothy*, to *Philippi*. But, <sup>Written from Rome, An. Christ. 63. Nero. 9.</sup>  
 before his release, or even before he could send *Timothy*, he thought it proper to send away *Epaphroditus*, with *this epistle*. For, he had been sick, since he came to *Rome*, and in great danger of his life; and the *Philippians* had, with much concern, heard of his sickness. As soon as ever therefore, he recovered, the APOSTLE sent him away, to *Philippi*; that the *christians*, there, might rejoice, to see him in health again. <sup>Book III. Ch. X. Sect. XI.</sup>  
 And he exhorts them to esteem such a person, as *Epaphroditus*; who was more concerned for the spread of the *gospel*, than for his own life. <sup>Acts xxviii. 29.</sup>  
 As the *judaizers* abounded, in *Macedonia*, as well as in *Asia minor*; and some of them had either attempted to taint the *Philippians*, or were likely to endeavor to seduce them, and bring them into subjection to the *law of Moses*; as if *christianity*, alone, had been insufficient to justify and save them: — With a view, I say, to the attempts of the *judaizers*, the APOSTLE cautions them, to beware of those wicked seducers. For *true christians* are the *circumcision*, or the *true people of God*; and not those, who place their confidence in their conformity to the *law of Moses*. If the *law of Moses* could have given grounds for hope, and glorying, St. PAUL had as good pretensions as any of those *judaizers*. For he was descended from parents, who were both *hebrew jews*. He was *circumcised*, on the very day appointed in the *law*. He had been a most zealous *pharisee*, and had once persecuted the *christians*; and conformed to the *law*, in the strictest manner. But all these things he now saw could not avail, to *justification*. The *christian method*, alone, was sufficient for that. And, therefore, he most carefully complied with the *gospel*; in hopes of the happiness, which it proposes to such, as persevere in a course of virtue and piety. And this method he recommendeth; as that, to which all should conform, who understand the *christian doctrine*.  
 The *judaizers* betrayed, by their practice, that they were enemies to the *true doctrine*, and cross, of CHRIST. For, they were not only drunkards, and gluttons; but they gloried in their shame; and their chief pursuit was temporal things. Whereas; St. PAUL, the *true APOSTLE*, had his conversation in *heaven*. From which heavenly conversation, he was led to look for JESUS to come again, as his savior, and judge; to raise him to glory, and an happy immortality. And, as the *Philippians* had the same prospect; he recommendeth it to them, to persevere in the *true gospel doctrine*, and in a futeable practice.  
 In the next place, he recommends kindness and mutual assistance, <sup>Ch. IV.</sup>  
 to some particular persons, in *that church*. One of whom was *Clemens*. The APOSTLE speaks of him with great respect. And he is generally thought to have been *Clemens*, bishop of *Rome*; one of the *apostolic fathers*; who wrote that excellent and golden remain, of the *epistle to the Corinthians*. There is a *second epistle* to the *Corinthians* ascribed to him, by some; and by the late Mr. *Wetstein*, a *third* and *fourth*: but the three last are reckoned, by the best judges, not to be genuine.



Written

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29.

“ The APOSTLE adviseth the *whole church*, at *Philippi*, to rejoice in the LORD, and not be too anxious about temporal things; but commit them, by prayer, and with resignation, to the divine disposal. *Christians* are not onely to do what is strictly just; but whatever is amiable, and can recommend *christianity*. For all such things the APOSTLE had taught the *Philippians*; and nothing could be more pleasing to GOD, than such a practice. He thanks them, in the most modest, agreeable, and grateful manner, for their kindnesse to him; intimateing, that he had an equal and contented mind; præpared to suffer want, if called to it. But he was not insensible, either of their former, or late, favors; though he was much more pleased with their presents, as they brought honor to GOD; and testified the good influence, which *christianity* had upon their minds; than as they supplied his wants. And he doubted not, but GOD would amply reward them. He salutes the *church* at *Philippi*; and sends *salutations* from the *christians*: particularly, from the *christians* in *Nero's* family. And then concludeth, as usual: The favor of the LORD JESUS CHRIST be with you all. *Amen!* ”

## C H A P. X. S E C T. XII.

## The C O N C L U S I O N.

Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

THUS did St. PAUL spend his time, for the two years, in which he lived, in his own hired house, at *Rome*; always in the custody of a soldier, and frequently chained to him:—receiveing all that would come and hear him; and often discourseing, concerning the life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension, of the BLESSED JESUS:—pointing out, both to *jews* and *gentiles*, the nature of the *kingdom of GOD*; which he was then erecting, under the *messiah*, his *anointed son*: and proveing, both from *antient prophecies*, and the *miraculous gifts*; which were conferred, since the pouring out of the *spirit*; that *christianity* had all the evidences of a *divine original*; which men could reasonably expect, upon the publishing of a *true revelation*. — By such *discourses*, as well as by the *miracles*, which he worked; and, by the laying on of his hands, inabled others to work; he not onely confirmed such, as had already imbraced the *christian religion*; but brought in numbers of *new converts*; makeing several *profelytes* in *Cæsar's court*; as well as in the camp, and in the city.

But



## The Conclusion.

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But the APOSTLE's care was not confined to *Rome* alone. For he received messages, from several of the *christian churches*, in distant countries; and sent *letters* and *messengers* to the distant *churches*, where he thought there was most occasion. And, in one word, he made it his study and business to promote the spreading of the *gospel*. And he did it with all openness, and *fortitude*; though he was already *in chains*, upon that account. However; notwithstanding his zeal and diligence, no-body forbade him. For the *romans* had not yet made any *laws*, against the *disciples* of JESUS; and it was within the first ten years of the reign of *Nero*, and before his cruelty broke out, against the *christians*.

An. Christ:  
63.  
Nero. 9.  
Book III.  
Ch. X.  
Sect. ult.  
Acts  
xxviii.  
30, 31.

Thus far did St. LUKE, the *sacred historian*, procede, in writing the *history of the first planting of the christian religion*. And, as I am come to the *conclusion of his book*, which is commonly called, *The ACTS of the APOSTLES*; I have finished my present design; and shall here, therefore, put an end to *my history*:— After I have returned my most humble and hearty thanks to *almighty GOD*; who, out of his abundant mercy and goodness, hath spared my life, and granted me health and leisure thus to complete it.

To *his glory* I devote it; heartily praying, that it may advance the interest of *truth* and *peace*, *virtue* and *liberty*! Amen!

The end of the *history*.

A DIS-



A  
**DISSERTATION;**

In which it is shown,

That St. LUKE wrote the *Acts of the APOSTLES*: And  
 that, as the *Acts* contain a *true history*, CHRISTIA-  
 NITY must be true.

The design of this DISSERTATION, is, (1.) To show that the  
*Acts of the APOSTLES* were written by St. LUKE. And (2.) To  
 point out the proofs, which *that history* affords, of the *truth of*  
*the christian religion*.

P A R T I. S E C T. I.

**I**N considering the first, it will be proper to inquire, who St.  
 LUKE was; and what evidences there are (either *internal*, or  
*external*) of the *truth of his history*?

According to the best lights, which I have been able to get,  
 from the *scriptures*, and the *antient christian writers*, "St. LUKE  
 was a native of *Antioch* in *Syria*; and was bred a *physician*<sup>a</sup>." That he was not a *jew*, borne in *Judæa*, or *Galilee*, seemeth  
 highly probable, from his speaking of *the field*, which the *jews*  
 bought, with the money, that *Judas the traitor* had returned.  
 For he saith, that, in *their own proper dialect*, it was called *Hakel-*  
*dama*<sup>b</sup>; whereby he seems to intimate that it was not *his dialect*,  
 though it was the *dialect* of the *jews*. But, that he was a native  
 of *Antioch* in *Syria*, is what some of the *antient christians* have  
 positively asserted<sup>c</sup>. There is, likewise, a *reading* in the *Cam-*  
*bridge*

<sup>a</sup> Col. iv. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Acts i. 18, 19. See the note there.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. hist. eccles. l. 3. c. 4. Hieron. de viris illustr. in Luc. & præfat.  
 in comment. ad Matt.



*bridge manuscript*, Acts xi. 28<sup>d</sup>. which intimates, that the first time, he is mentioned, in the *scripture*, he was at *Antioch* in *Syria*. That manuscript is reckoned very antient. But I lay no stress upon it; any farther than that the *reading* agrees with the most early and most authentic accounts of St. LUKE. That he was not a *jew*, but an *uncircumcised gentile*, doeth farther and more planely appear, from *Col. iv. 10, 11.* compared with *ver. 12; 14.* For, when the APOSTLE had reckoned up such of his fellow-laborers of the *circumcision*, as were then, at *Rome*, with him; he afterwards mentioned St. LUKE, and some others, who were also with him, at that time: intimateing, that the last were not *jewish converts*; though the first-mentioned were all such. And some have thought it a confirmation of his being a *gentile*, that he wrote purer *greek*, than the other three *evangelists*; who were all *jews*. And, though that, alone, would not have proved him to have been a *gentile*; because one *jew* might have understood *greek*, better than another; yet (as far as the observation is just and well-grounded) it may be a confirming evidence, when joined to the other proofs, which have been alleged. For *Antioch* was, then, a place famous for the *greek learning*; and for *rhétoric* and *eloquence*. I take St. LUKE to have been a *devout gentile*, or *proselyte of the gate*; who (though he continued *uncircumcised*, yet) had forsaken *idolatry*, and was a *worshiper* of the true GOD; and one, who attended upon the service of the *synagogue*, before *christianity* was preached to any *gentile*. For the *christian church*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, was collected from among such. And, if the *reading* of the *Cambridge manuscript*, which has been taken notice of, *Acts xi. 28.* be genuine: St. LUKE was a convert to *christianity*, before the *gospel* was preached to one *idolatrous gentile*. — Considering these things, I cannot allow him to have been one of the *seventy disciples*, whom OUR LORD sent forth, before his death; because I do not find that OUR LORD, during his own personal ministry, here, upon earth, preached to any *uncircumcised gentile*. [For, though he preached to *samaritanes*, as well as *jews*; yet, at that time, the *samaritanes*, in general, were *circumcised*; as well as the *jews*, and *proselytes of righteousness*. And, generally, in all things, except as to the place of worship, held the law of *Moses* for the rule of their religion.] And, as our LORD did not, then, admit the *gentiles* to be his *disciples*; much less did he then choose any *uncircumcised gentile*, to go and preach

<sup>d</sup> See the note on Acts xi. 28.



preach in his name. For, 'till the harvest of the *jews* was gathered in, (which was not, 'till several years after CHRIST's *ascension*,) we do not find that any *gentile* was preached to; or received, as a *disciple*, into the *christian church*. And, after that, it was some time, before any of them were appointed to preach the *gospel* to others. Again: — That St. LUKE was not one of the *seventy disciples*, may be gathered, from his own words, in the introduction to *his gospel*; where he plainly intimates, that he himself had not been, from the *beginning*, an *eye-witnesse* and *minister of the word*; but had had his intelligence, from others, of the *facts*, which he recorded in *his gospel*. Whereas; in the latter part of the *Acts of the APOSTLES*, he frequently speaks of himself, as one that was personally present, and concerned in the things which he has related. He was, very probably, converted to *christianity*, by PAUL and BARNABAS; when these two labored together, a whole year, as *christian prophets*, in planting, and watering, the *gospel-doctrine*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*. [*Acts* xi. 26.] And, after he had been a *christian* about eight years, he became an *evangelist*; travelling generally, along with St. PAUL; to assist him, in the work of the *gospel*. The first time he joined the APOSTLE, with that view, was, when St. PAUL, in *his second apostolic journey*, had got as far as *Troas*. For there, St. LUKE (in the *history of the Acts of the APOSTLES*) begins to speak in the *first person plural*; and to use the words *we*, and *us*; giving the reader to understand, that he was, from that time, one of the APOSTLE's company. [*Acts* xvi. 8, &c.] From *Troas*, they went, together, to *Philippi*. And (though I do not find that he was with St. PAUL, 'till that APOSTLE returned to *Philippi*; yet) there they joined company again; and went up, together, to *Jerusalem*; to carry the generous, charitable, collection; which the *gentile churches* had made, for the use of the poor *christians* in *Judea*. [*Acts* xx. 6, &c.] When St. PAUL was carried in chains, from *Cæsarea*, to *Rome*, St. LUKE accompanied him, in his voyage; [*Acts* xxvii. 1, &c.] and continued with him, whilst he was confined, in his own hired house, in that magnificent city. And, accordingly, we find him particularly mentioned, in two of the *epistles*, which the APOSTLE wrote, from thence, during his first confinement there. [See *Col.* iv. 14. *Philem.* ver. 24.] He is once more mentioned, in St. PAUL's *epistles*; namely, 2 *Tim.* iv. 11. For I take St. LUKE, the *evangelist*, to have been the person there intended; though some have questioned it. And, if he was the person there designed; he was with St. PAUL, during that APOSTLE's second confinement,

at



at Rome; and the onely companion, who dared to tarry with the APOSTLE, after he had made *his first apologie*, and was likely to suffer martyrdom.

St. LUKE could, very likely, have carried down *his history*, to the death of St. PAUL. But, I suppose, he had published *his gospel*, and *the Acts of the APOSTLES*, some years before that. And did not see proper to add any thing, to what he had said already. For, in studying brevity, he consulted the general good. And, in what he has left us, he has given us a sufficient account of the *christian doctrine*, and of it's grand evidences. [What hath been said, by the *writers* of later ages, concerning the place, time, and manner, of his death; and what the *church of Rome* hath reported, concerning his skill in *painting*, appears to me to be not sufficiently supported, to deserve any regard.] — Besides his acquaintance with St. PAUL, St. LUKE was, very likely, acquainted with most of the APOSTLES of the *circumcision*<sup>c</sup>. For we find, that St. PETER went down to *Antioch*<sup>f</sup>, before St. LUKE went out, from thence, as an *evangelist*; and that St. LUKE, himself, was once at *Jerusalem*<sup>g</sup>; where he saw, and conversed with, the APOSTLE JAMES, as well as with the *christian elders* of that city. It is possible, he might be at *Jerusalem*, more than once; or might meet with other of the APOSTLES, in other places.

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## S E C T. II.

FROM his long and intimate acquaintance with St. PAUL, who had received the knowlege of the *gospel*, by *immediate revelation*; and, from converseing with several others, who *had seen the LORD in the flesh*, and known the things, which had since happened; it appears, that St. LUKE was sufficiently qualified to write the former part of *this history*. And, as to the latter part of it, he had (besides the advantages already mentioned) the opportunity of being personally present; and of seeing, with his own eyes, many of the things, which he has recorded. But, as the truth and authenticnesse of any *history*, is a *fact*; we ought not onely to consider the capacity and opportunity of *the author*, to whom it is

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ascrib-

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. eccles. hist. l. 3. c. 4. Hieron. de vir. illustr. in Luc. <sup>f</sup> Gal. ii. 11.  
<sup>g</sup> Acts xxi. 17.



ascribed; but, likewise, inquire, "What *testimonies* there remain, " of such as lived in, or near, the time, in which it is said to have " been written?" For, if *they*, (who had a fair and sufficient opportunity to know *the fact*) acknowledged St. LUKE to have been the *author* of the *book*, which we call *the Acts of the APOSTLES*; and that the things, related in it, were true and genuine; we cannot, with any reason, reject it: especially, as there are no internal marks, or characters, to induce us to exclude it; but many (on the contrary) which may induce us to receive, and esteem, it.

There are two different opinions, as to the time, in which St. LUKE wrote, and published, *his gospel*. The one would fix it in the fifteenth year after CHRIST's *ascension*; that is, about *the year* of CHRIST 47, or 48. The other is for dating it after St. MARK wrote *his gospel*; that is, about the year 63. or thirty years after *the ascension* of CHRIST. Upon examining the grounds and reasons of these two accounts, I prefer the latter<sup>h</sup>. For I apprehend that St. LUKE wrote, both *his gospel*, and *the Acts of the APOSTLES*, in *one book*; and divided it into *two parts*; as we commonly do, with *histories*, and other single volumes. The transition, *Acts* i. 1. agrees with this account. For the *Acts* are *the second part* of *the book*<sup>i</sup>, or *history*, of which he himself has called *his gospel*, *the first part*<sup>l</sup>. The *latter* is inscribed to *Theophilus*, as well as the *former*. And (which is very remarkable) there is not *the author's name* præfixed, to *the Acts of the APOSTLES*; as there is, to St. LUKE's *gospel*. And yet *the author* of the *Acts of the APOSTLES* is not disputed: (as *the author* of the *epistle to the hebrews* has been; because he hath not præfixed *his name*.) For, when the *gospel* and the *Acts*, were one continued *book*; and St. LUKE's name præfixed to *the former*; there was no occasion to repete it, before the *second part* of his work. We have, indeed, separated St. LUKE's *gospel*, and *the Acts*, by putting St. JOHN's *gospel* between them. But the reason of that, is, that we may have *the four gospels* placed together; and St. JOHN is put the last, as having been written long after the other three. It is evident, that the *Acts of the APOSTLES* could not have been finished, 'till *the year* of OUR LORD 62, or 63. of Nero 9. because *the history of the christian church* is there brought down so low. Now, that agrees, very well, with the latter account

<sup>h</sup> Instead of repeteing the arguments, for the one opinion, or the other; I would refer the reader to what Mr. Jones hath said, on this subject, *Vol. III. p. 113, &c.* of his *new method of settling the canon of the new testament*.

<sup>i</sup> Δεύτερον λόγον.

<sup>l</sup> Τὸν πρῶτον λόγον. *Acts* i. 1.



count of the time of St. LUKE's publishing *his gospel*. And, when he had finished *his history*, it is very likely that he would soon publish it; for the benefit of the *christian church*, and of mankind.

That St. LUKE, who wrote *the gospel*, which goeth under his name, did also write *the Acts of the APOSTLES*, appears, from the general consent of the *antient christian writers*. I shall, first, give some account of the *persons*; and, then, of their *testimonies*.

(1.) *Irenæus* is so early a witness, that, as he himself tells us, in his youth he saw and heard *Polycarp*, who had been taught by the APOSTLES; — conversed with many, who had seen CHRIST; — and was, also, by the APOSTLES, appointed *bishop of the church of Smyrna, in Asia*<sup>1</sup>. *Irenæus* was first a *presbyter*, and afterwards *bishop, of Lyons, in France*; and is reckoned to have flourished about the year of OUR LORD 178. He hath, in several parts of his works, ascribed *this history* to St. LUKE, as *it's author*. For instance, citing the *history*, Acts viii. 9, &c. he introduceth it thus: “*Simon the samaritanæ, who was one of the magi; of whom LUKE, the disciple and follower of the APOSTLES, saith, But a certain man, Simon, by name, &c.*” In another place, citing Acts xv. 39, &c. he saith, “*That LUKE was inseparable from PAUL; and his fellow-worker in the gospel, he himself shows, by relating the contention between PAUL and BARNABAS, concerning John Mark; — and, by his speaking in the first person plural, Acts xvi. 10. We endeavored to go into Macedonia; ver. 11, We loosed, and came with a straight course; ver. 12. We continued at Philippi, several days; ver. 13. We sat down, and spoke to the women, who resorted to the prostucha. And again, he saith, Acts xx. 6. And we sailed away, from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and came to Troas; where we abode seven days. And other things, he [that is, LUKE] relates, whilest he was with PAUL; mentioning exactly the places, and cities, and number of days, until they went up to Jerusalem: and what things happened there, to PAUL; how he was sent bound, to Rome; and the name of the centurion, that took charge of him; and the signs of the ship: how they were shipwrecked, and in what island they were saved, and how courteously they*”

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“ were

<sup>1</sup> *Iren. advers. hæres. l. 3. c. 3. § 4. & apud Euseb. eccles. hist. l. 4. c. 14. & l. 5. c. 20.* <sup>m</sup> *Simon enim samaritanæ, magus ille, de quo, discipulus & sectator APOSTOLORUM, Lucas, ait, “Vir quidam, autem, nomine Simon, &c.” advers. hæres. l. 1. c. 23. [alias c. 20.] § 1.*



“ were received, PAUL healing the chief-man of the *island*; and  
 “ how they sailed, from thence, to *Puteoli*; and, from thence, ar-  
 “ rived at *Rome*; and how long they stayed at *Rome*. At all which  
 “ things *he* was present, and relates them with fidelity, and with-  
 “ out ostentation: — And that he was not onely a companion, but  
 “ also a fellow-laborer, of the APOSTLES; and especially of PAUL;  
 “ PAUL himself has declared, in *his epistles*.” For this, *Irenæus*  
 quotes the words of 2 *Tim.* iv. 9, 10, 11. and *Col.* iv. 14. And,  
 presently after, he quotes, also, *Acts* xx. 25, &c. Again; quoteing  
 part of St. STEPHEN’s *speech*, *Acts* vii. he sais, “ LUKE hath wrote,  
 that *Stephen* spoke thus, &c.” These are some of the many pla-  
 ces, in *Irenæus*; where the *Acts of the APOSTLES* are ascribed to  
 St. LUKE, as *their author*. But it would be tedious, to put down  
 all the places, where he has quoted, or alluded to, *that history*.  
 For there are few things, recorded in *the Acts*, which have not been  
 mentioned by *Irenæus*.

(2.) *Clemens*, who lived at *Alexandria*, and is reckoned to have  
 flourished about the year of CHRIST 194; quoteing St. PAUL’s  
*speech*, at *Athens*, *Acts* xvii. 22, &c. introduces it thus: “ And  
 LUKE, in the *Acts of the APOSTLES*, relates that PAUL said,” &c.<sup>p</sup>

(3.) *Tertullian* is generally reckoned to be the most antient *latin*  
 father now remaining. He was a *presbyter* of *Carthage*, the capital  
 city of *Africa*; and is reckoned to have flourished, about the year of  
 OUR LORD 200. He cites several places, out of the *Acts of the*  
 APOSTLES; which he, in one place, calls the *commentary of LUKE*.<sup>q</sup>

(4.) *Origen*, a *presbyter* of *Alexandria*, who was the scholar of  
*Clemens of Alexandria*, and who is reckoned to have flourished about  
 the year of CHRIST 230; ascribes the *Acts of the APOSTLES* to St.  
 LUKE.<sup>r</sup> (5.) *Eusebius*, the *ecclesiastical historian*, who was borne at  
*Cæsarea*, in *Palæstine*, and surnamed *Pamphilus*, from the name of  
 his friend, *Pamphilus the martyr*; — flourished about the year 315.  
 and was most diligent and indefatigable, in his inquiries into *chris-*  
*tian*

<sup>n</sup> Iren. l. 3. c. 14.  
 Iren. l. 4. c. 29.

<sup>o</sup> Lucas autem Stephanum — sic dixisse de Mose scripsit;  
 ἢ Καθὼς καὶ ὁ Λευκὸς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύει  
 τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα. *Strom.* l. 5. p. 588. edit. Sylburg. p. 996. edit. Potter. Vid.  
 etiam *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* l. 6. c. 14. <sup>q</sup> Porro, cum in eodem commentario  
*Lucæ*, &c. *Lib. de jejun. adv. psych.* c. 10. p. 549. B. edit. Rigaltii.

<sup>r</sup> Λευκὸς, ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις, apud *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* l. 6. c. 25.  
 Some may perhaps, question whether these are the words of *Origen*, or of *Eusebius*  
 himself. But, supposeing they should be ascribed to the latter; they may be looked  
 upon as a *testimony*, though not so antient. However; I look upon them as the  
 words of *Origen*.



*tian antiquity.* — He, who made so diligent and curious a search, expressly ascribes *the Acts of the APOSTLES* to St. LUKE; saying, that “LUKE, a native of *Antioch*, and by profession a *physician*, did, “for the most part, accompany PAUL; and, being diligently conversant with *the other APOSTLES*, he hath left us, in *two inspired books*, lessons, which are *medicinal* for our souls: — The “one is *the gospel*,: — the other is *the Acts of the APOSTLES*,” &c.<sup>1</sup> (6.) *Jerome*, who flourished towards the end of the *fourth century*, asserts *the Acts of the APOSTLES* to have been *the composition of St. LUKE*.<sup>2</sup> (7.) Several *antient greek manuscripts*, of the *new testament*, have the name of St. LUKE prefixed to *this history*.<sup>3</sup> As hath, also, *the old syriac version*. — From all these *testimonies*, the *author of the Acts of the APOSTLES* is fully determined. Especially, as there is nothing, which can, with any color of reason, or probability, be objected against *their testimonies*.

### S E C T. III.

AS we have found out *the author of the Acts of the APOSTLES*; and the time, in, or about which, they were written; it may be of service, farther, and more particularly, to consider, what regard the *primitive christians* paid to *that history*.

I. The *history of the Acts of the APOSTLES* is found in *thirteen catalogues of the books of the new testament*; which are the *principal catalogues of those sacred books*, in the writings of the *fathers*, for the *four first centuries*.<sup>4</sup>

II. The

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. hist. eccles. l. 3. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. de vir. illust. in Joan. “Acta APOSTOLORUM, sicut viderat, composuit.” Vid. etiam Epist. ad Paulin. vers. fin.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Simon’s critical history of the text of the new testament, part I. c. 14.

<sup>4</sup> The catalogues, which I refer to, are, (1.) That of Origen; Comment. in Matt. apud Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 25. & l. 5. Exposit. in Joan. ibid. (2.) Eusebius Pamphilus; whose catalogue of the books of the new testament is to be found, Hist. eccles. l. 3. c. 25. (3.) Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria in Ægypt, flourished about the year of CHRIST 315. and hath left us a catalogue of the books of the new testament. Fragment. Epist. Testal. tom. 2. & in Synopsi, tom. I. (4.) Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, flourished about the year of CHRIST 340. His catalogue is in catech. 4. § ult. p. 101. (5.) The bishops, assembled in the council of Laodicea, in the year of CHRIST 364. have given us their catalogue; Canon 59. And it ought to



II. The *Acts of the APOSTLES* ought to be looked upon, as a *true history*, and as written about the time, which we contend for; because they are cited, or alluded to, in the *writings of the primitive christians*. As will appear, by the following instances.

(1.) The *antient epistle*, ascribed to BARNABAS, which is thought to have been written about the year of CHRIST 71. seems to allude to *Acts* x. 42. For, speaking of CHRIST, whom he calls *the son of GOD*; who is also LORD; the author of that epistle saith, "He shall judge the quick and the dead<sup>b</sup>."

(2.) Clemens is mentioned, with great respect, by St. PAUL. *Phil.* iv. 3. He was *bishop of Rome*. And, therefore, commonly called *Clemens Romanus*. He wrote an *excellent epistle*, to the *christian church at Corinth*, about the year of CHRIST 96. which is extant at this day; and is looked upon, as one of the *most valuable remains of christian antiquity*. In that epistle, he alludes to *Acts* xiii. 22. His words are: "And what shall we say of David, so highly testified of: to whom GOD said, I have found a man *after my own heart*; David, the son of Jesse, with holy oil have I anointed him?" St. PAUL doeth, indeed, cite these words from *Psal.* lxxxix. 20. But, as they are introduced, by Clemens, with the same, or like, form of quotation, with that in the *Acts*; and these words,  
[after

to be observed, that the *canons of this council* were, not long after, received into the body of the *canons of the universal church*. (6.) Epiphanius, *bishop of Salamis*, in Cyprus, flourished about the year of CHRIST 370. His catalogue is, *hæres.* 76. *contra Anom.* p. 399. (7.) Gregory Nazianzen, *bishop of Constantinople*, flourished about the year of CHRIST 375. and has left us a catalogue of the books of the new testament. *Carm. de veris & genuin. scriptur.* (8.) Philastrius, *bishop of Brixia*, in Venice, flourished about the year of OUR LORD 380. His catalogue is to be found, *Lib. de hæres.* num. 87. (9.) Jerome, who flourished about the year 382. has given us a catalogue of the books of the new testament. *Epist. ad Paulin.* 83. tract. 6. p. 2. Which epistle is also, commonly, prefixed to the *latin bible, vulgat. edit.* (10.) Rufinus, *presbyter of Aquilegium*, flourished about the year of CHRIST 390. You may find his catalogue, *Exposit. in symbol. apost.* § 36. inter ep. Hieron. part. 1. tract. 3. p. 110. & inter opera Cyprian. p. 575. (11.) Austin, *bishop of Hippo*, in Africa, flourished about the year of CHRIST 394. His catalogue remains; — *de doctrin. Christ.* l. 2. c. 8. tom. operum 3. p. 25. (12.) The forty-four bishops, assembled in the third council of Carthage, (of whom Austin was one) have given us their catalogue. Canon 47. & cap. ult. (13.) The anonymous author of the work, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, who is thought to have flourished about the year of CHRIST 390. has confirmed the above-mentioned catalogues. *Lib. de hierarch. eccles.* c. 3. p. 3. All these catalogues, unanimously, and with one consent, reckon the *Acts*, among the sacred books of the new testament. See Mr. Jones his new and full method of settling the canonical books of the new testament, vol. 1. p. 73, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. *epist. Barnab.* cap. 7. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν Κύριον, καὶ μέλλον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

ε Vid. *Clem. roman. epist. ad Corinth.* c. 18.



[after my own heart,] are not in the *psalm*; but the expression of St. PAUL, recorded onely in the *Acts*; it is rather probable, that Clemens alluded to what he had read, in the *Acts*. Nor is there any reason to object, that, "perhaps, they both cited according to the *septuagint*." For there are no such words, in any of the copies of the *septuagint*; nor any various readings, like it, to be found. Again: there is an allusion, in the same epistle, to *Acts* xx. 35. where Clemens is commending the *Corinthians*, for their former behavior; and saith, among other things, that "they were more willing to give, than to receive<sup>d</sup>."

(3.) *Hermas* (who is reckoned to be the person, saluted by St. PAUL, *Rom.* xvi. 14. and to have wrote the *antient book*, called the *pastor*, or *shepherd*, about the year of OUR LORD 100,) seems to allude to *Acts* v. 41. His words are: "But you, who suffer death for his name, ought to honor the LORD; that the LORD accounts you worthy to bear his name<sup>e</sup>."

(4.) *Ignatius* was bishop of the christian church, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, the latter part of the first, and the beginning of the second, century; and is reckoned to have been intimately acquainted with several of the APOSTLES of OUR LORD. It is said, that he was sent, from *Syria*, to *Rome*, about the year 107, to be devoured by wild beasts, for the testimony of CHRIST; and that, as he went, through *Asia*, under a strong guard of soldiers, he confirmed the christian churches, in every city, by his discourse; and wrote seven epistles, which are still extant. In that to the church at *Smyrna*, there is an allusion to *Acts* x. 41. The words are; "But, after his resurrection, he did eat and drink with them.<sup>f</sup>"

(5.) *Polycarp* was so early a father, that he was not onely taught by the APOSTLES, and had conversed with many, who had seen CHRIST; but was also, by the APOSTLES, appointed bishop of the church of *Smyrna*, in *Asia*. And he is thought, by many, to have been the angel of the church of *Smyrna*<sup>g</sup>, to whom the epistle, in the *Revelation*, was sent. He lived a long time; and, in his old age, suffered a glorious and splendid martyrdom. But, before he was crowned with martyrdom, he wrote a most excellent and useful epistle, to the *Philippians*, about the year of CHRIST, 108. which is still extant. In that epistle, he has repeated *Acts* ii. 24. with the variation of onely one single word. For, speaking of CHRIST, he saith,

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Roman. epist. ad Corinth. c. 2. Μαλλον δίδουτες η λαμβανοντες. <sup>e</sup> Vid. lib. 3. simil. 9. § 28. <sup>f</sup> Vid. epist. ad Smyrn. § 3. <sup>g</sup> See Rev. ii. 8.



sais, "Whom GOD hath raised up; haveing loosed the pains of  
"bades; that is, of the grave, or of the invisible world<sup>h</sup>." By which,  
he, very probably, meant *death*; as St. PETER has expressed it.

As these five were *apostolic fathers*, I was willing to mention  
such of their *expressions*, as are most like to those of the *Acts*; be-  
cause they conversed with the APOSTLES; and, very probably, with  
St. LUKE himself. And, therefore, their repeteing his words, or  
alludeing to them, must be a very great confirmation to the truth  
and genuinenesse of *his history*. Though they have not, formally,  
quoted them from him; nor ascribed them to St. LUKE, as words  
taken out of *his history*. For that was not so common, in the *apo-  
stolic age*<sup>i</sup>.

We now procede to other *testimonies*, and *confirmations*, of the  
truth of St. LUKE's *history*. Among which, we shall find many  
*expresse quotations*, acknowleged to be taken out of the *Acts of the  
APOSTLES*. (1.) *Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in Asia*, who was a  
companion of *Polycarp*, and flourished about the year of CHRIST  
116. has given some confirmation to the *Acts of the APOSTLES*,  
in what he sais of *Philip*; but, especially, in what he sais of *Jus-  
tus*, called *Barsabas*. For he intimates, that he had seen, and  
talked with, *Philip's daughters*; who are mentioned, *Acts* xxi. 9.  
And, of *Justus*, called *Barsabas*; for the description of whom he [or  
*Eusebius*] refers to *Acts* i. 23. Of that *Justus*, I say, he relates *this  
miracle*: "That he drank deadly poison; and, by the grace of the  
LORD, suffered no harm<sup>k</sup>."

(2.) *Justin Martyr* was borne at *Sichem*<sup>l</sup>, which stood nigh  
*mount Gerizim*, and was the head city of the *samaritane sect*. He  
was early a lover of truth, and had studied *philosophy*, under several  
masters, of different *sects*; but preferred the sentiments of *Plato*, 'till  
he became acquainted with *christianity*; which he then imbraced,  
as the *onely certain and useful philosophy*<sup>m</sup>. His conversion is dated  
about

<sup>h</sup> *Polycarp. epist. ad Philipp. § 1.*

<sup>i</sup> Supposeing the *passages*, which we have quoted, from the *apostolic fathers*, were  
not taken from St. LUKE, or any other *christian writer*; but were expressions,  
common among the *first christians*: — Even then, they are confirmations of St.  
LUKE's writeing in the *apostolic age*; in as much as they show him to have been  
acquainted with the *phrases* then in use. But, as the words, in several of the above-  
cited *passages*, are so like St. LUKE's; it is more probable, I think, that they al-  
luded to what he had said. And, what may confirm this, is, that they allude to some  
passages in the old testament, much in the same manner; *that is*, without quoteing  
the author, or repeteing the words exactly.

<sup>k</sup> *Euseb. hist. eccles. l. 3. c. 39.*

<sup>l</sup> It is called *Sichar*, John iv. 5.

<sup>m</sup> *Dial. cum Trypho. p. 225. C. edit. Paris. 1636.*



about the year of CHRIST 133. when he himself is reckoned to have been about thirty years of age. In the begining of the reign of *Antonine the pious*, he came to *Rome*; and, in the year 140, presented his first apologie, to that emperor. Afterwards, he went into *Asia*; and, particularly, to *Ephesus*; where he had the celebrated conference, with *Trypho, the jew*. Then he returned, again, to *Rome*; where he wrote his second apologie, inscribed to *Mark Antonine the philosopher*. And, it is thought, he suffered martyrdom, about the year 164. — Justin shows that he had read the Acts of the APOSTLES, by the following expressions. “ *Moses* was thought worthy to partake “ of all the learning of the *Ægyptians* ”:” Which seems to be a plane allusion to Acts vii. 22. Again, he, in another place of his writings, saith; “ For the jews, who had the prophecies, and al- “ ways expected the coming of the CHRIST, knew him not. And, “ not onely so, but even killed him. But the gentiles, who had “ never heard of CHRIST, ’till the APOSTLES, setting out, from “ *Jerusalem*, taught them the things concerning him; being filled “ with joy, and faith, they forsook their idols, and gave themselves “ up to the unbegotten GOD, through JESUS CHRIST °.” In which, he appears to have given the sense of Acts xiii. 27. and to have had a reference to the history, recorded in the same chapter; from ver. 44, to the end. And, finally, in his dialogue with *Trypho, the jew*, he saith: “ Though it had been obscurely declared, by the prophets, “ that CHRIST should suffer; and, after that, be LORD of all,” &c. In which, he hath given us the sense, and some of the words, recorded by St. LUKE, Acts xxvi. 22, 23<sup>p</sup>. And, that he took them, not from the expressions, which were then common among christians, but from the Acts of the APOSTLES; appears highly probable, in that he mentions memoirs, commentaries, or records, written by the APOSTLES, and their companions: refering to the writings of St. MARK and St. LUKE, as well as of the APOSTLES themselves.

(3.) In the seventeenth year of *Mark Antonine*, and the hundred seventy-seventh of CHRIST, the christians in *France* suffered a very great persecution; undergoing exquisite torments, with amazeing patience<sup>q</sup>. Among others, *Pothinus, bishop of Lyons*, then above ninety years of age, was apprehended, and carried before the governor. By whom, he was examined; and before whom, he made a

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<sup>p</sup> Cohort. ad Græc. p. 11, B. edit. Paris. 1636.

<sup>q</sup> Dialog. cum Trypho, p. 302. A. παθόντες — ὁ Χριστός.  
L. 5. proæm. & c. 1, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Apol. 1. p. 85, A.

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. hist. eccles.



generous confession of the christian religion. And, having suffered many indignities, he was sent to prison; where he soon expired.

The churches of Lyons and Vienne sent a relation of the sufferings of their martyrs, in a letter to the churches of Asia and Phrygia; a large part of which is still extant<sup>a</sup>. And it is the finest thing, of the kind, in all antiquity. Some think that it was composed by Irenæus. That letter affords a considerable testimony to the books of the new testament; and, particularly, to the Acts of the APOSTLES. And how valuable their testimony must be, is manifest, from what hath been said of them; and that they had, for their bishop, Potbinus; who dyed, aged above ninety, in the year 177. and was borne, therefore, about the 87<sup>th</sup> year of OUR LORD. The words of that letter, which refer to the history of the Acts, are these: "They prayed for those, from whom they suffered hard things; as did the perfect martyr, Stephen; " LORD, lay not this sin to their charge. And, " if he prayed for those who stoned him; how much more ought " we to pray for the brethren?"

(4.) Irenæus (of whom I have given a particular account above; as being first a presbyter, under Potbinus; and then succedeing him, as bishop of Lyons, in France; and who is reckoned to have flourished about the year of CHRIST, 178. He, I say,) hath, very frequently, quoted the Acts of the APOSTLES, as "written by LUKE, the disciple and companion of the APOSTLES." There are few things, recorded in that book, which have not been mentioned by Irenæus. I have already put down one passage, giving a general account of all the latter part of the Acts of the APOSTLES. But, besides that, and many other things, in behalf of St. LUKE; Irenæus argues with those, who disowned the authority of PAUL, and yet owned LUKE's gospel: that "they must, of necessity, own the Acts; and, consequently, PAUL's authority."

I will here put down another passage, wherein Irenæus bears testimony to St. LUKE's history. "Nor can they (says he) pretend " that PAUL is not an APOSTLE, when he was chosen to this end; " nor can they show that LUKE is not to be credited, who has related to us the truth, with the greatest exactness." [He refers to Acts ix. 5; 15, 16. containing an account of PAUL's conversion, and vocation; which he had just before quoted expressly, and argued from. After which, he proceeds:] "And, possibly, GOD has, for this

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius; as in the præcedeing note.

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. histor. eccles. l. 5. c. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Iren. advers. hæres. l. 3. c. 15. init. And Dr. Lardner's credibility of the gospel history, part 2. vol. i. pag. 363, &c.



“ this reason, so ordered, that many parts of the *gospel* should be  
 “ declared to us, by LUKE; which all are under a necessity of re-  
 “ ceiving: that so all might receive, likewise, his subsequent tes-  
 “ timony, which he hath given, concerning the *Acts*, and *doctrine*,  
 “ of the APOSTLES; and might have a sincere and uncorrupted  
 “ relation of truth, and be saved. Therefore, *his testimony* is  
 “ true; and the *doctrine* of the APOSTLES is manifest and uniform,  
 “ without any deceit; hiding nothing from men; nor teaching  
 “ one thing in private, and another in public.”

As *Irenæus* hath, so frequently, quoted the *Acts of the APO-  
 STLES*, I shall not put down any more *passages* from him; but  
 passe on to other of the *fathers*: after I have informed my reader,  
 that I have, upon examination, found above thirty places, in the  
*works of that father*, (and the *index*, to Dr. Grabe's edition, has taken  
 notice of, as many more,) where the *book of the Acts* is quoted.  
 In several of which, St. LUKE is named, as the *author*. And the  
 credit of *that evangelist*, and the usefulness of *his writings*, is as-  
 serted, and defended.

(5.) *Titus Flavius Clemens* was a *presbyter* of the church, at *A-  
 lexandria*; and *author* of several books, relating to *christianity*. Such  
 of them, as are still extant, he is reckoned to have wrote, about the  
 year of CHRIST 194. And, in them, he acknowledges, and fre-  
 quently quotes, the *Acts of the APOSTLES*; ascribing them to  
 LUKE, (who wrote one of the *four gospels*) as their *author*. Mr.  
*Jones* has referred to seven places, where the *Acts of the APOSTLES*  
 are quoted by *Clemens*. In some of which, the *quotations* are of a  
 considerable length.”

(6.) *Tertullian* is, generally, reckoned the most antient *latin fa-  
 ther*, now remaining. He was borne at *Carthage*; not long after  
 the middle of the *second century*. And is reckoned to have flourish-  
 ed, about the year of CHRIST, 200. He has made very numerous  
 appeals to, and quotations from, the *Acts of the APOSTLES*, in such  
 of *his works*, as are still extant; ascribing them to St. LUKE, as  
 their *author*. And (as I have already observed) he calls them  
 LUKE's *commentary*. In one place, saith he, “ We find, in the  
 “ *Acts of the APOSTLES*, that they, who had *John's baptism*, had  
 “ not received the *holy spirit*; nor so much as heard, whether there

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“ was

\* The *heretics*, with whom *Irenæus* is there disputing, owned a part, or the  
 whole, of St. LUKE's *gospel*; though they rejected the other three *gospels*.

“ See *Jones* his new and full method of settling the canonical authority of the  
 new testament, vol. iii. p. 163.



“ was any<sup>x</sup>.” In which words, he plainly refers to *Acts* xix. 1, 2, 3. In another part of *his works*, he takes notice, that, “ truly he, that is, [CHRIST] fulfilled the promise, which he had made; [of sending the spirit, which should lead the disciples into all truth:] the *Acts* of the APOSTLES attesting the descent of the holy spirit. Which scripture, they, who do not receive, cannot be of the holy spirit; nor can they prove the holy spirit to have been sent to the disciples; nor can they defend the church. For as much as they have nothing to show, when, and with what beginning, the body was formed<sup>y</sup>.” “ This passage (as has been well observed) shows the great authority and usefulness of this book; and that christians had not (at that time) any authentic account of the first preaching, and progress, of the gospel, after OUR SAVIOR’S resurrection, besides this one book, of the *Acts* of the APOSTLES. Out of which, Tertullian hath quoted so many passages; and which we still have<sup>z</sup>.”

I will not tire my reader, with any more quotations, from the fathers; because, I think, these are abundantly sufficient: especially, when it is added, that “ the later fathers cite the *Acts* of the APOSTLES, continually; as the only authentic history, which they had, of the primitive state of the church<sup>a</sup>.”

I would only observe, how unjustly it hath been asserted, “ That the *Acts* of the APOSTLES were not much known, nor much regarded, in the four first centuries.” (1.) Some have argued, for this, from a passage, in the works of Chrysostome<sup>b</sup>. But, supposing that Chrysostome had directly asserted such a thing, he would have deserved no regard; because the testimonies, already produced, are so many, and unquestionable. However; Chrysostome himself hath actually asserted the contrary, in such of his works, as are unquestionable: “ intimateing, that the *Acts* of the APOSTLES were wont to be read, publicly, in their churches, after easter, and before whitson<sup>c</sup>.” From whence, some have concluded, that neither the other passage, nor the work, in which it is found, ought to be ascribed to Chrysostome. But Dr. Lardner has, with more probability, allowed the work to be Chrysostome’s: and supposes, “ that

<sup>x</sup> Tertullian. de baptismo, c. 10. p. 228. A. edit. Rigaltii.

<sup>y</sup> De præscrip. hæret. c. 22. p. 209, D.

bility, &c. part 2d. vol. 2d. p. 588, 589.

<sup>z</sup> Dr. Lardner’s credibility, &c. part 2d. vol. 2d. p. 588, 589. <sup>a</sup> Mr. Jones on the canon, &c. vol. 3d. p. 164.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Mill. præfat. in Act. p. 254. & prolegom. 242. F. Simon’s critical history of the text of the new testament, part 1. chap. 14. and Mr. Jones, &c. vol. 3. p. 164, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Fabric. præf. in 2 tom. cod. apocr. N. T.



“ that the expressions are onely oratorical; in which, *Chrysostome* exaggerates extremely.” And that his meaning was, “ He wished, *the Acts of the Apostles* were better known to his hearers: — and that he was grieved to think how little acquainted some were with that part of sacred scripture<sup>d</sup>.”

(2.) *Erasmus* would infer the same thing, “ from his finding more various readings, in *the Acts of the APOSTLES*, than in any other of the *sacred books of the new testament*.” But surely, if the argument of that very learned man will prove any thing, it is the direct contrary. For the more various readings there are, in any book, the more frequently it has been transcribed. And, consequently, the more it appears to have been in use.

As we have proved, that *St. LUKE* wrote *this book*; and that, while *the facts* were well known; and the *persons* concerned were, many of them, alive, to bear *their testimony* to them: We now proceed to,

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*Namely, “ To point out the proofs, which the Acts of the APOSTLES afford, of the truth of christianity.”*

AND these will appear to be strong, and many. For,  
 I. “ The general doctrine contains nothing absurd, and unreasonable.” It teaches us, that there is one, onely, liveing, and true, GOD; who made heaven, and earth, and all things that are therein<sup>a</sup>. That *we men*, in particular, are his off-spring<sup>b</sup>. That *his providence* extends to all ages, and nations. For, he has never left himself without a witnesse; in that he has given men rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons; filling their hearts with joy and gladnesse<sup>c</sup>. That this universal creator, and wise governor, cannot, possibly, be confined within such narrow limits, as *temples*, built by men; nor be represented, by any image, or picture. For he is omnipresent. And, in him, we live, move, and have our beings<sup>d</sup>. That, as he is infinite in wisdom, and abundant in good-

<sup>d</sup> See *The credibility, &c.* part 2. vol. 10. p. 329, &c. in *Act. i. 1.*

<sup>a</sup> *Acts xiv. 15. and xvii. 24.*

<sup>e</sup> *Vid. Erasmi annotat.*

<sup>b</sup> *Acts xvii. 26; 28, 29.*

<sup>c</sup> *Acts xiv. 17. and xvii. 24; 26.*

<sup>d</sup> *Acts vii. 47,—50. and xvii. 24, 25; 28, 29.*



goodnesse, he loves all his creatures, and is no respector of persons; but, in every nation, he, that feareth GOD, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him<sup>e</sup>. That he requires, of every man, onely according to his ability; and the opportunities, which he enjoys. And, therefore, the times of former darknesse he winked at; and did not, then, expect so much knowlege and virtue, among men: because they were placed in lesse advantageous circumstances<sup>f</sup>. But that, when the world was over-run with ignorance, *idolatry*, and the most amazeing wickednesse, GOD sent down *his own son*, a person of the highest dignity, and greatest purity, to call mankind to repentance<sup>g</sup>; and to assure them of mercy, if they did sincerely repent<sup>h</sup>. That, as *the son of GOD* condescended so much, as to appear, in our nature; and to live among men, for a number of years, in order to instruct them, both by *his doctrine* and *example*; and even to lay down his life, for their redemption; — therefore, GOD hath raised him from the dead, and exalted him to his own right-hand; and made him CHRIST, or the *anointed king*, and LORD over all<sup>i</sup>. Having, also, constituted him *judge*, both of the liveing and of the dead<sup>k</sup>. In consequence of which, men are commanded to invoke his sacred name<sup>l</sup>: — to be *initiated* into *his religion*, by the plane and significant rite of *baptism*<sup>m</sup>; which intitles them to all the privileges, and charges them with all the obligations, of the members of his *church* and *kingdom*. And, after that, they are frequently, and with great thankfulness, to commemorate *his dying love*; by *eating bread*, and *drinking wine*, in remembrance of him<sup>n</sup>: thereby professing themselves *his disciples*; and repeteing their resolutions, to imitate and obey him.

THIS GLORIOUS PERSON conversed chiefly in *Judæa*, and *Galilee*; begining his reformation among *the jews*; who had, then, the foundest notions of GOD, and *religion*<sup>o</sup>: though they, also, were fallen into an amazeing degeneracy. After he had duely præpared the well-disposed among the *jews*, he himself returned to heaven; and left the great work to be carried on, by persons, whom he had instructed; and to whom he had not onely gave a commission, but

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<sup>e</sup> Acts x. 34, 35.      <sup>f</sup> Acts iii. 17, and xiv. 16. and xvii. 30.      <sup>g</sup> Acts x. 36, 37, 38. and xvii. 30, 31.      <sup>h</sup> Acts ii. 38, 39, 40. and iii. 19. and x. 43. and xiii. 38, 39. and xx. 21.      <sup>i</sup> Acts ii. 22, 23, 24; 32; 36. and iii. 13,—18. and iv. 10. and v. 30, 31. and x. 37,—43. and xiii. 28, 29, 30.      <sup>k</sup> Acts x. 42. and xvii. 31.      <sup>l</sup> Acts ii. 21. and vii. 59. and ix. 14.      <sup>m</sup> Acts ii. 38; 41. and viii. 38. and x. 47, 48. and xvi. 15; 33.      <sup>n</sup> Acts ii. 42. and xx. 7.      <sup>o</sup> Acts iii. 25, 26. and x. 36,—39.



communicated *a fulnesse of the spirit*<sup>p</sup>. And, when they had reaped the harvest, of what he had sown, among the *jews*; they, according to his expresse order, addressed themselves to the *gentiles*: teaching them the folly, and wickednesse, both of *idolatry*, and every vice<sup>q</sup>; and recommending it to all men, every where, to repent<sup>r</sup>. Towards GOD, they recommended the great duties of love and fear, adoration and obedience<sup>s</sup>: towards *men*, justice and charity, truth and sincerity<sup>t</sup>, love and beneficence: <sup>u</sup> and, as to *their own personal conduct*, sobriety and temperance, chastity and universal purity<sup>x</sup>. Frequently inculcateing, upon their converts, the necessity of patience, and a contented mind; to get above this present world; and to have their affections so fixed on a better state to come, that they might rather suffer difficulties, and persecution, for the sake of *their religion*, than betray, or give it up<sup>y</sup>. And all these excellent rules, they inforced, by the weighty argument of *a righteous judgment to come*: when the *son of GOD* shall descend, as universal judge, and raise all mankind out of their graves; and will show the highest favor to sincere penitents, and the prevailingly good; but will punish the wicked, with a dreadful and exemplary destruction<sup>z</sup>. — Is there any thing, in *this doctrine*, absurd and unreasonable? Any thing, but what is highly worthy of GOD, and admirably suited to the present state of *men*? Such is it's intrinsic worth and excellence, that one would be ready to ask; “What need could there be of *miracles*, to “propagate *a doctrine*, which is, in itself, so *reasonable* and *good*? “Would it not have been sufficient, barely to have proposed it; and “then left it to recommend itself, by it's own worth, and beauty?” — But, if we take a closer view of the præjudices of mankind; of the difficulty of breaking off wicked and inveterate habits; and of men's fondnesse for *the religion*, in which they have been educated; as well as of their love of pomp and pleasure; and what strikes upon the senses; more than of such a simple *doctrine*, as that of the *gospel*; though founded upon the most solid truth; and recommending the purest, noblest, virtue: — we shall no longer wonder, that *infinite wisdom*:

<sup>p</sup> Acts ii. 22, 23; 33,—36. and iii. 13, 14, 15; 17. and xiii. 27,—32.

<sup>q</sup> Acts i. 8. and x. 15, &c. and xiii. 46, &c. <sup>r</sup> Acts ii. 38. and iii. 19; 26. and viii. 22. and xvii. 30. and xx. 21. and xxvi. 20. <sup>s</sup> Acts ii. 40. and iii. 23. and iv. 19, 20; 24, &c. and v. 11; 29. and xii. 22, 23. and xiv. 17. <sup>t</sup> Acts v. 1,—11. and xiii. 10, 11. <sup>u</sup> Acts ii. 44, &c. and iv. 32, &c. and vii. 60. and xi. 29, 30. <sup>x</sup> Acts xxiv. 25. <sup>y</sup> Acts iv. 19, 20. and v. 29; 41, 42. and vii. 59, 60. and xii. 2, &c. and xiv. 19,—22. and xvi. 23, &c. and xx. 23, 24. and xxi. 13. <sup>z</sup> Acts ii. 40. and iii. 19, 20; 23. and xvii. 30, 31. and xxiv. 15; 25.



wisdom should grant the power of working miracles, and the attestation of the gifts of the spirit, to propagate a doctrine, which is, in itself, so excellent and good.

2. "The particular doctrines, taught by the APOSTLES, were, "with great propriety and wisdom, suited to the state of the persons, to whom they preached." The jews did, already, believe in the one true GOD. And, therefore, they proceeded, directly, to prove to them, that JESUS was the CHRIST: that they might believe, and obey, him, whom GOD had sent. — The proselytes of the gate had forsaken idolatry, and believed in the one, true GOD. And, therefore, they, likewise, were exhorted to believe in CHRIST, and imbrace his religion; as highly conducive to their increase in virtue and piety here, and to their being meet for the happiness of the world to come. But, as the idolatrous gentiles trusted in false gods; and did not acknowledge the one, onely, liveing and true GOD; they began with persuauding them to forsake their idolatry; and believe in him, who is GOD alone. And, when they had persuaded them, to turn from dead idols, unto the liveing and true GOD; — they then, and not 'till then, laid before them the evidences for believeing also, in JESUS, whom GOD had sent, as the great prophet and savior of the world.

The APOSTLES never attempted to set men free from social duties, or to abridge them of any of their civil rights and privileges. No! though they brought them over to a new religion, yet they often intimated that christianity alters nothing in men's civil affairs. The christian converts, therefore, continued under the same obligations, as formerly, to obey the laws of the several countries, where they lived; and had as good a claim, as ever, to all the privileges and advantages of civil society. The moral law is of everlasting obligation; and cannot, possibly, be abolished. But christians are obliged to obey the moral law; not onely from the fitness of things; but as it is adopted into the christian law, and enforced by gospel-motives. — The ceremonial law of the jews was abolished, or vacated, by the death of CHRIST, and the setting up of his religion in the world. For, as it was designed to promote virtue and piety, among the jews, onely 'till the time of reformation, by the gospel. And, as the gospel promotes these things, after a nobler, and more effectual, manner; the ceremonial law was laid aside, as no longer of any use. However; such of the jewish christians, as could not shake off their fondness for it, were indulged in the observation of it. Though they, who understood, and were convinced of, their christian liberty, were no longer



longer in subjection to it. But the *gentile converts* were warned, not to submit to that yoke of bondage. For they could plead no *præjudice*, in favor of it. They, therefore, were assured, that if they added the observation of the *law of Moses*, to that of the *gospel*, as necessary to their salvation; they would cast the highest contempt on the *gospel*, and render it to them of none effect.

3. "The *proofs and evidences*, which the APOSTLES gave, of their *mission and doctrine*, were abundantly sufficient; both as to their *strength, and number*." Besides the *reasonableness* of what they advanced, they appealed to *prophecies and miracles*, and the *various gifts of the spirit*. They did, indeed, always found their *doctrine* upon *facts*. But *prophecie* was a confirming evidence; both among the *jews*, and *profelytes of the gate*.

As to the argument, drawn from *antient prophecie*, I would observe, that some of the *prophecies*, mentioned in the *Acts*, and other books of the new testament, were *expresse prædictions*; and have been shown, by many writers, to have been *literally accomplished*<sup>a</sup>. And, supposeing other *passages*, which have, sometimes, been taken for *prophecies*, were no more than the APOSTLES applying a general rule, or saying, to a particular case; just as we say, upon several occasions, "The old proverb is made good." Or, "The old saying is verified." Or their argueing from a similar case; or using the words of some of the *antient prophets*, by way of *accommodation*; and to expresse themselves in *phrases*, that were familiar among the *jews*; — that will not, in the least, invalidate the argument, from *real prædictions*. And, upon examining the particular places, I am well satisfied, that all the *passages*, taken from the *antient prophets*, may be fairly reduced to one or other of these heads. — As the *jews*, and *profelytes of the gate*, were acquainted with the *scriptures of the old testament*, and acknowledged their *authority*; when the APOSTLES preached among them, they argued from the *antient prophecies*. But, in converting *idolatrous gentiles*, they took another method; argueing, for the *being and perfections* of the *true GOD*, from the *works of creation and providence*; and appealing to *miracles*, and other facts, for the proof of JESUS his being the *great prophet and savior of mankind*. And, in this, as well as in all other things, they acted with *great propriety*. For, it would have been absurd, to have argued, from *antient prophe-*

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cies;

<sup>a</sup> See Dr. Sykes, Mr. Chandler, Bishop Chandler, Mr. Jeffries, Dr. Bullock; and several other answers to Collins his grounds and reasons, &c.



cies; among persons, who were either ignorant of them, or disbelieved them.

As to *miracles*, and the *various gifts of the spirit*: — it seems clear and evident, to me, that there was nothing unbecoming the *divine wisdom*, in granting men such *supernatural aids*; when they were sent, by him, to attempt an *universal reformation*. And the *evidences* have been shown to be so full, and so many, that no man could reasonably have expected more; even upon so great, and uncommon, an occasion. Let us now, in the

4<sup>th</sup>, and last place, Summ up the whole argument. As both the *general*, and *particular, doctrines*, contained in the *Acts of the APOSTLES*, are so *reasonable*; and the *proofs* and *evidences* were so many, and strong; as well as wisely suted to all sorts of persons: — Certainly, *christianity*; *pure, primitive, original christianity* was true; and sufficiently attested to have come from GOD. And, “if it was once true; what pretence can any man now have, for rejecting it?” Will he allege, “that he cannot believe the history?” But, “for what reason will he allege such a thing? It is mere perverseness, to reject any *history*, without some sufficient objections against its truth and validity.” “Are all *histories* to be rejected? And no *facts* credited; but what we ourselves have seen, and been personally acquainted with?” I never knew any man so hardy, as to assert this, and stand to it. And, if the *histories*, of former ages, may be credible; why may not the *history of the Acts of the apostles* deserve regard? Will it be objected, that, “it was written by a friend to *christianity*; and one that was, himself, a party concerned?” To this, I would reply; that it is hardly possible (nay, morally speaking, it is not possible) that any man should write such an history, fairly and honestly, but a friend to *christianity*. Can it be thought, that an enemy to *christianity* (supposeing such things to have really happened; and that he had been acquainted with them: — Can it be thought, I say, that an enemy to *christianity*) would have given us a *faithful history* of such remarkable and uncommon things; and yet continue an enemy? Would not the whole thread of such an *history*, condemn such a man? And would not all the world be ready to say, “Do you know *this doctrine* to be so excellent; and that so many, and such great and surprizing, *miracles* were worked, in confirmation of it? And yet, do you yourself disbelieve *this doctrine*; and deny the truth of *this religion*?” Surely! no man, that had any value for his reputation, would have wrote such an *history*, to condemn himself of the greatest per-



perverseness. And one, who had no value for his reputation, would certainly deserve no credit, nor regard. But, supposing a man, upon considering *christianity*, together with its evidences, had turned *christian*; and, after that, wrote such an history: — Why! then, he was a friend; and, in some measure, a party concerned, as well as St. LUKE. And, if a friend to *christianity*, be the only person, that can be reasonably supposed to give a fair and full account of the doctrine, together with its grand attestations; “who could be more proper, than a companion of the APOSTLES? who not only conversed with those, that were eye and ear-witnesses of the facts: but was personally concerned in many of the things, which he relates?” There are few historians, so immediately acquainted with the facts, about which they write. And yet we, generally, give credit to their accounts: unless we have some weighty reasons to the contrary.

Show the marks of forgery, or the antient and credible history, which contradicts what is said, in the *Acts of the APOSTLES*; and then you may, with some reason, talk of rejecting that book. There are no inconsistencies, nor contradictions, in the history itself. Even the miraculous and extraordinary facts, there related, were not impossible to the divine power, to which they are constantly and uniformly ascribed. Neither are they improbable: considering the grand design and occasion of them. For, planting a new religion among men, in a time of such universal darkness and degeneracy, must have required an extraordinary, divine, interposition. And great and striking evidences were, in a manner, necessary; to conquer men's great prejudices, and make them attentive. The plainness and simplicity of the narration, are strong circumstances in its favor. The writer appears to have been very honest, and impartial; and to have set down, very fairly, the objections, which were made to *christianity*, both by jews and heathens; and the reflections, which enemies cast upon it, and upon the first preachers of it. He has, likewise, with a just and honest freedom, mentioned the weakness, faults, and prejudices, both of the APOSTLES, and their converts. There is a great and remarkable harmony between the occasional hints, dispersed up and down, in St. PAUL's epistles; and the facts, recorded in this history. In so much as that it is generally acknowledged, that the history of the *Acts* is the best clue, to guide us, in the studying of the epistles, written by that APOSTLE. The other parts of the new testament do, like-



wise, agree with *this history*; and give great confirmation to it. For the *doctrines* and *principles* are, every where, uniformly the same. The conclusions of the *gospels* contain a brief account of those things, which are more particularly related, in the *beginning of the Acts*. And there are frequent intimations, in other parts of the *gospels*, that such an *effusion of the spirit* was expected; and that, with a view to the very design, which the APOSTLES and *primitive christians* are said to have carried on, by virtue of that extraordinary *effusion*, which CHRIST poured out, upon his *disciples*, after his ascension. And, finally, the *epistles* of the other APOSTLES (as well as those of St. PAUL) plainly suppose such things to have happened, as are related in the *Acts of the APOSTLES*. So that the *history of the Acts*, is one of the most important parts of the *sacred history*. For neither the *gospels*, nor *epistles*, could have been so clearly understood, without it. But, by the help of it, the whole *scheme of the christian revelation* is set before us, in an easy and manifest view.

Even the *incidental things*, mentioned by St. LUKE, are so exactly agreeable to all the accounts, which remain, of the *best, antient historians*, among the *jews*, and *heathens*; that no person, who had forged *such an history*, in later ages, could have had that *external confirmation*: but would have betrayed himself, by alluding to some customs, or opinions, since sprung up; or by misrepresenting some circumstance, or using some phrase, or expression, not then in use. The *plea of forgery*, therefore, in later ages, cannot be allowed. And, for a man, to have published an *history* of such things, so early, as St. LUKE wrote; (*that is*, while some of the APOSTLES, and many other persons, were alive, who were concerned in the *transactions*, which he has recorded;) if his account had not been punctually true, could have been only to have exposed himself to an easy confutation, and certain infamy.

As, therefore, the *Acts of the APOSTLES* are, in themselves, consistent and uniform; — the *incidental things* agreeable to the *best, antient historians*, which have come down to us; — and the *main facts supported and confirmed*, by the *other books of the new testament*, and by the *unanimous testimony* of so many of the *antient fathers*: — We may, I think, very fairly, and with great justness, conclude, that, if any *history* of former times deserves credit, the *Acts of the APOSTLES* ought to be received, and credited.



dited. And, "if the history of the *Acts of the APOSTLES* be true, christianity cannot be false." For a doctrine, so good in itself, and attended with so many *miraculous and divine testimonies*, has all the possible marks of a true revelation.

I will, therefore, conclude, with most earnestly wishing, that christianity were imbraced, by all mankind, according to its *intrinsic worth*, and *abundant evidence*! — That the purity and simplicity of the *original institution*, as it was left by CHRIST, and his APOSTLES, in the *scriptures*, were more attended to! — And that all, who believe christianity to be true, would manifest it; by such a virtuous, holy, life, as that excellent religion doeth, every where, recommend!

The end of the DISSERTATION.

A L E T.



A  
LETTER to the AUTHOR,  
CONCERNING

The PERSONS to whom St. PAUL wrote what is called,  
*The epistle to the Ephesians.*

Reverend SIR,

*I HAVE, at your desire, sent you my thoughts, upon that question, which has employed the pens of several learned men of late years, Whether St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians (as it appears to have been called very early) was written, by him, to that church? And I have done it, with more freedom; because I do not apprehend it can be any person's interest to determine this question, one way or the other, but as the evidence appears to him. When you have perused what I have written, I shall be glad of your opinion concerning it; and am, &c.*

SEVERAL reasons have been offered by Doctor Mill to show, that what is called *The epistle to the Ephesians*, was not written by the apostle Paul to that church, but to the *Laodiceans*<sup>a</sup>. That it was not written to the Ephesians, he endeavours to prove, not onely from the subject-matter of the epistle in general; but also from several particular expressions, which seem no ways suited to a church, with which the apostle had been conversant for *three years*<sup>b</sup>, as he had with that at Ephesus, before this epistle was written; but appear very proper in writing to persons, whom he had never seen, but only heard of, from the relation of others; which was the case of the Laodiceans. And, therefore, he very justly observes the similitude of those expressions with others in the epistle to the Colossians, whom St. Paul had not seen, when he wrote to them. But what chiefly determined him to think that epistle was written to the Laodiceans, was the direction given by the apostle near the close of his epistle, which he wrote to the Colossians: *When this epistle is read amongst you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea*<sup>c</sup>. The Doctor's objections to Ephesus seem to carry great weight with them, which I shall not here repeat; but what he has said in favor of *Laodicea*, don't appear so convincing;

<sup>a</sup> *Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. p. ix. ed. Oxon. Acts xx. 31.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ch. iv. 16.*



ing: and I am rather inclined to think this was designed as a sort of general epistle for the use of such gentile christians, more especially those of Asia, of whose conversion the apostle had heard, but had not visited them; than directed to any particular church (like that to the Colossians) though it was sent first to Laodicea. What has led me into this sentiment, I shall now endeavour to explain, with as much brevity, as the nature of the subject will permit.

The manner, in which I conceive this affair might be at first conducted, is as follows. It is pretty generally agreed, that this epistle was sent by St. Paul, from Rome, at the same time with those to the Colossians and Philemon. Tychicus only had the charge of the first, Onesimus of that to Philemon, and they were both joined in the delivery of that to the church at Coloss. In their passage from Rome they landed on the coast of Asia, at the most convenient port they could, for their journey afterwards to Coloss; whither, I suppose, they went first. For what St. Paul writes to Timothy: *Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*: must relate to another journey after this<sup>c</sup>, that epistle to Timothy being of a later date by some years. Upon their arrival at Coloss, the immediate business of Onesimus was to deliver the epistle sent to Philemon, which so nearly concerned himself. For the apostle could never have recommended him in such strong terms to the church at Coloss, but upon a supposition that his master Philemon would very readily be reconciled to him, upon reading that letter. In order to this therefore Onesimus must first wait upon his master, and make his submission to him, whose slave he had been, but had run from him, and consequently was yet his property. This makes the apostle say in his epistle to Philemon, speaking of Onesimus: *Whom I would have retained with me — but without thy mind would I do nothing*<sup>d</sup>. And presently<sup>e</sup> *V. 13, 14*: after he desires, that he would no longer treat him as a *servant* or *slave*, but as a christian *brother*<sup>e</sup>. I presume therefore, it can't well be doubted, *e* *Ver. 16*: but that his master soon manumitted him; and, most probably, before the apostle's letter sent to that church was publicly read among them. For 'till this was done, what the apostle saith to the Colossians, in that letter, concerning Onesimus, could not be applied to him in a civil sense: *Who is one of you*<sup>f</sup>: for slaves were not considered as members of any civil communities. It was true indeed in a religious sense, considering them as christians, even while he continued a slave: for as he had told them before, with regard to the rights of christianity, there is *neither bond nor free*<sup>g</sup>, but all stand in an equal relation to Christ; and, as he saith to the Corinthians, *are his freemen*<sup>h</sup>. But still, his being first made free by his master would doubtless add a weight to the message he was charged with, by St. Paul, and conciliate a greater regard to him in that church. <sup>Chap. iii. 11. I Cor. vii. 22.</sup>

After the affair of Onesimus was over, the epistle to the church at Coloss was to be delivered, in which both Tychicus and Onesimus were jointly concerned. And when this was done, Onesimus had no further orders from the apostle, but Tychicus was to carry the third epistle by himself; for which reason his name only is mentioned in it<sup>i</sup>. However, Tychicus did <sup>Eph. vi. 21.</sup>



did not immediately leave Coloss, after the delivery of the letter to that church; but stayed some time there, to acquaint them with the state of St. Paul's affairs, and likewise to inform himself of their circumstances, in order to make a report to him at his return<sup>k</sup>. He then goes with the remaining letter to Laodicea, acquaints them with his having been at Coloss, that they were to expect a copy of the apostle's letter to that church from thence, and that the messengers, who should bring it, were to carry back a copy of the letter which had been sent to them; agreeably to St. Paul's direction to the Colossians, which I have cited above.

<sup>k</sup> Lib. xii. Coloss and Laodicea were, as Strabo saith<sup>l</sup>, two cities of *Phrygia major*, both of them upon the river *Lycus*. As they are placed by Cellarius in his map of *Asia minor*, Coloss appears to be the more westerly; but Dr. <sup>m</sup> Epistol. quat. p. 149. Smith saith, Laodicea lay westward of Coloss<sup>m</sup>; and that, in his return to Smyrna, he travelled, from Coloss to Laodicea, in about seven hours. However, as the distance between these two cities was no greater, according to the place where Tychicus and Onesimus landed upon the coast, and the situation of the road afterwards, they might go conveniently enough to one or the other of them first. But as they were both obliged to go to Coloss, and Onesimus had no business at Laodicea, nor could appear at all with any character, 'till he had been with his master at Coloss; these were sufficient reasons to determine their going thither first, though it was the farther place of the two. Besides, had the epistle sent to the Laodiceans been delivered first, it is reasonable to suppose, they would have been directed to carry a copy of it to Coloss, and bring from thence a transcript of their letter; instead of the contrary orders given to the Colossians.

But the main difficulty is, how to account for the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, in the beginning of the epistle I am now considering; for the removing of which several conjectures have been offered, by Dr. Mill, Mr. Peirce, and others. That which appears to me the most probable is, what I met with in a Latin Dissertation upon this subject, published some years ago in the Literary Journal<sup>n</sup>; the substance of which I shall here endeavour to represent, together with some further considerations that have occurred to me since. Dr. Mill had observed, that Basil, (who lived in the latter part of the fourth century) owns, that some antient copies of this epistle, written before his time, had not the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* in the first verse; and that Marcion having talked of a copy, in which were the words *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ*, and not *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, he was charged by Tertullian (who wrote against him in the beginning of the third century) with having made that alteration. Tertullian's words are these: *Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceos. Sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi & in isto diligentissimus explorator*<sup>o</sup>. The Doctor took this passage as a proof, that some copies, as old as Tertullian's time, had in them the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*. And from an expression in one of Ignatius's epistles (which I shall have occasion to cite afterwards) he concludes he had such a copy. But the

<sup>n</sup> Art. xx.  
for April,  
May,  
June,  
1731.

<sup>o</sup> Lib. v.  
advers.  
Marcion.  
c. 17.



the writer of the Dissertation thinks it evident from the words of Tertullian, that by the *title* he meant the inscription only; and that neither the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, nor ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, were inserted into the text of the copies, on either side. For had Marcion's copy ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ in the text, Tertullian would not have charged him with altering the title, but the words of the epistle. And if the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ had been in Tertullian's own copy, he would not have endeavoured to support that reading, from the authority or tradition of the church, but have appealed to the copy itself. But as he has done neither of these, it seems most natural from his way of reasoning to understand this passage as referring onely to the title or inscription; which might then differ, for a reason I shall have occasion to mention presently. And that Tertullian meant this, by the word *titulum*, and not the salutation, with which the apostle begins this epistle, seems farther confirmed, by what Basil relates; who, though he saies it was written to the Ephesians, yet owns expressly, that he had seen antient copies, which had not the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, nor any others in the room of them. I shall transcribe his own words: Τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐπισέλλων, ὡς γνωστῶς ἠνωμένοις τῷ ὄντι δι' ἐπιστάσεως, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν, ἐπ' αὐτῶν. Ταῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς ἔσσι, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. "Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταῖς παλαιαῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὐρήκαμεν". That is: "Writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him, <sup>p Lib. iii.</sup> *who is*, through knowledge, he called them in a peculiar sense such *who* <sup>advers.</sup> *are*, saying: *To the saints who are, and the faithful in Christ Jesus.* For <sup>Eunomium.</sup> so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in antient copies." By the words τῷ ὄντι, *who is*, Basil refers to the name of God, *I am*; by which he revealed himself to Moses, and which the Septuagint translate ὁ ὢν. But his applying this to the words τοῖς ἔσσι, as spoken of christians, seems to be a very forced interpretation; and as the author of the Dissertation well observes, by placing the point after ἀγίοις, instead of ἔσσι, they will admit of an easier sense, in this manner: *To the saints, who are also faithful in Christ Jesus: τοῖς ἀγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς, to the saints and faithful,* being also the characters in the salutation to those of Coloss. What Jerom saies upon this subject is somewhat obscure, whose words are these: *Quidam curiosus, quam necesse est, putant, ex eo quod Moyse dictum sit, Exod. iii. Hæc dices filiis Israel, QUI EST, misit me, etiam eos, qui sunt in Epheso sancti & fideles essentia vocabulo nuncupatos. Alii vero simpliciter non ad eos, qui sunt, sed qui Ephesi sancti & fideles sint, scriptum arbitrantur.* <sup>Com-</sup> By the expression *alii arbitrantur*, as it stands in opposition to *quidam pu-* <sup>ment. in</sup> *tant*, the writer of the Dissertation supposes Jerom meant no more, than <sup>Ephes.</sup> that some persons *imagined* or *thought* that epistle was written to the <sup>initio.</sup> *saints and faithful at Ephesus*; and consequently that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were not found in their copies, any more than they were in the copies of those, who gave into the other interpretation.

From these considerations that author concludes, that this epistle was written, by the apostle Paul, to no particular church; but to such gentile churches and christians, who, as he expresses himself in writing to the Colossians, *had not seen his face*: tho' it was sent first to Laodicea. And <sup>Ch.ii. i.</sup> further



further to confirm this opinion he observes, that the valediction at the end of the epistle runs in the same general terms, as were used at the beginning: *Peace be to the brethren*<sup>c</sup>. And again: *Grace be with all them, that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*<sup>d</sup>. But in all the other epistles to particular churches, not only where the apostle had been conversant, but also in that to the Colossians, whom he had never visited, the valediction is in the second person: *Grace be with you*<sup>e</sup>. And 'tis observable, that the manner of expression, *all them that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*, answers very well to the character of *the faithful in Christ Jesus*, at the beginning of the epistle. Besides, as he remarks, had this epistle been written particularly to the Laodiceans; the apostle in mentioning it to the Colossians, would scarcely, as one may suppose, have directed them to read τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, *that from Laodicea*; but rather τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικεῖας, *that to the Laodiceans*. But considering it as a general epistle, only sent first to the Laodiceans, the other expression is very just, especially as the Colossians were to fetch a copy from thence; for which reason likewise he orders them, with great propriety, to *salute the brethren in Laodicea*<sup>f</sup>.

To these observations of this learned writer, I may add, that in all St. Paul's epistles, written to particular churches, there is some peculiar case mentioned respecting each church, that seems to have been one reason at least for writing them; which is also observed in his epistle to the Colossians, whom he there cautions against the worship of angels. On the contrary, in this epistle we find nothing but such general doctrines of christianity, as equally concerned all the gentile churches, thro' the first three chapters, which end in a doxology, and make a separate part; and in the three following chapters the directions relating to practice are laid down more at large, than in any of his other epistles: which method suits very well with the nature of a general epistle, being somewhat in the manner of an institute. Besides, what other probable reason can be given, why St. Paul did not join Timothy's name with his own in the beginning of this epistle, as well as in those to the Colossians and Philemon; but that he being especially appointed the apostle of the Gentiles, might think proper in such a general epistle, written to the gentile christians, to appear alone in that character? Had this epistle been written particularly to the church of Laodicea, must it not have seemed strange, when that to the Colossians and this came to be read together in both churches, that the name of Timothy, who was then at Rome with the apostle, should be found in one of them, and not in the other? The difficulty is still greater, supposing it was written to the Ephesians. For can it be thought he would have omitted him in writing to a church, where Timothy was so well known, and had been so serviceable<sup>g</sup>; and yet have mentioned him to strangers? And it may perhaps deserve a remark, that the general terms, in which he expresses his valediction, at the close of the epistle, ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων, &c. seem to countenance the reading of the Alexandrian copy and some others, which add the word πᾶσι to ἁγίοις, at the beginning of the epistle; ἁγίοις πᾶσι, &c. *to all the saints, who are also faithful in Christ Jesus*.



*Jesus.* This renders the address still more general, and very well suits both the tenor of the epistle afterwards, and the valediction with which it concludes.

I am sensible it may be replied here, that, notwithstanding such general expressions, from the likeness of one or two passages in this epistle to others in that to the Colossians, it may seem probable they were both written to particular churches. The places I refer to are these: *Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints*<sup>a</sup>. <sup>a</sup> Eph. i. 15. Here the apostle speaks to them in the second person, as he does in almost the like terms to the Colossians: *Since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints*<sup>b</sup>. But it is observable, <sup>b</sup> Ch. i. 4. that altho' in our English version the words *your faith* are put in both places, yet they are not the same in the original. In the latter indeed it is *πιστις ὑμῶν*, *your faith*; but in the former *τῇ κατ' ὑμᾶς πίστι*, *the faith that is among you*; which seems to be a more indefinite expression, and will very well suit a general epistle. The other passage is this, where, speaking of Tychicus, the apostle says: *Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts*<sup>c</sup>. To the Colossians it is thus: *Whom I have sent unto you for the* <sup>c</sup> Eph. vi. 22. <sup>d</sup> Ch. iv. 8. *same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts*<sup>d</sup>; but some copies read here likewise, *that ye might know our affairs, and that he might, &c.* These words may seem to be spoken to some particular persons, but still they are applicable to any church indefinitely. And why may not Tychicus be supposed to have visited some other churches in those parts, and to have left with them copies of this epistle? Tho' whether he actually did so or not, such provisional expressions were very proper, in case he had opportunity for it. I can't perceive therefore, that this objection has really any force in it. But now there are some expressions in the epistle to the Colossians, besides the salutation to them by name, at the beginning, which refer to them in particular, and could be applied to no other church. As where the apostle speaking of Onesimus, and afterwards of Epaphras, says: *Who is one of you*<sup>e</sup>. But nothing of <sup>e</sup> Ch. iv. 9, 12. this nature is found in the other epistle, that confines it to any single church. So that there are no expressions, but what may suit a general epistle; and some which do not so well agree with a particular one.

As to what has been said of the different titles, which were antiently placed at the head of this epistle, that might probably happen by copies being afterwards dispersed to different churches. The original, as has been said, was sent to Laodicea; which might be occasioned partly from it's being so near to Coloss, whither St. Paul then designing to send Tychicus, took the opportunity of that conveyance; and partly because it was a large and populous city, from which copies might be conveyed most conveniently into other parts of the adjacent countries. For Apamea and Laodicea were, as Strabo informs us, the largest cities of *Phrygia*<sup>f</sup>. But Tychicus <sup>f</sup> Lib. xii. might be ordered in that journey to leave a copy at Ephesus, on his return: for I can't think he went thither first, considering the case of Onesi-



mus at that time; who was with him; and besides, as the epistle seems to be addressed to such gentile converts, whom St. Paul had not seen, one would suppose in propriety it should first be delivered to some such church. Now Ephesus being the most considerable city in all those parts, and a sea-port, more copies might afterwards be sent from thence (westward especially, and along the coast) than from Laodicea, which lay far up the country, and as the epistle had at first no inscription to any particular church, this might in time occasion such a title, as we find now prefixed, Πάυλος τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ ἢ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολή, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians*, to be written upon some copies that came from Ephesus. And both Irenæus bishop of Lyons, and Clement of Alexandria, who cite this epistle as written to the Ephesians before Tertullian, might use such

\* See Dr. Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel-History*, Part II. Vol. I. p. 366. and vol. II. p. 498. *Lib. v. advers. Marcion. c. 11.* copies. But other copies again, for a like reason, might have Λαοδικέας, instead of Ἐφεσίους; and no more be designed by either, but to intimate the place from whence those copies were received, or to which the epistle, as they thought, had first been sent by the apostle; and not that it was written by him to either of those churches in particular. And accordingly, Marcion, who lived some time at Sinope in Paphlagonia, nearer to Laodicea than Ephesus, coming afterwards to Rome, might bring with him a copy of this epistle, which had the words πρὸς Λαοδικέας in the title. For that Tertullian in his charge against him referred to the title, seems further evident from another passage, in which he says: *Praeterea hic et de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodicenos*. And as this might in it itself appear a novelty in those western parts, to such who had always been accustomed to the Ephesian copies; so it would naturally be more suspected, as coming from an heretic, and render persons tenacious of the other title; 'till at length, the reason of the title being forgotten, occasion was taken from thence to insert the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ into the text. And in doing this they might also (as Dr. Mill remarks) imagine themselves countenanced, from those words of the apostle to Timothy: *Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*: not considering the distance of time between the writing those two epistles, as was hinted above.

But if it be true, as Dr. Mill thought, that Ignatius had a copy of this epistle, with the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the beginning, that will entirely destroy this hypothesis; tho the difficulty will still remain, how to accommodate them to the whole scheme of the epistle. It may be worth while therefore to enquire a little into this matter. And for that purpose I shall transcribe the passage, as it stands in the smaller epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, to which the Doctor refers. He is there speaking to them, and says: Πάυλος συμμύσται τῷ ἡγιασμένῳ, τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ, ἀξιομακαρίτῳ, ὃς γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰχθυῖος εὐρεθῆναι, ὅτ' αὐτὸς ἐπιτύχω, ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Which words, in the edition published by Ittigius, the Latin version expresses thus: *Pauli symmystae, qui sanctificatus, martyrium consecutus, et digne beatus est (ad cujus vestigia contingat mihi ut inveniar, ubi Deo potitus fuero) qui tota epistola memor vestri est in Christo Jesu.* It is only the last clause of this sentence, that has any relation to the present subject; which, according



ing to the Latin version, may be thus rendered in English: *Who in an whole epistle is mindful of you in Christ Jesus*; the word *who* referring to Paul, mentioned before. But the proper sense of *μνημονεύειν* is *to mention*, or *make mention of*; and not barely *to retain in memory*. And so Ignatius himself elsewhere uses it: Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ γένοιτό μοι αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν<sup>k</sup>: which is there translated, *Sed absit a me, ut eorum mentionem faciam*: that is, *But far be it from me to mention them*. Tho' neither will this remove the difficulty. For who, if he designed to tell another, that a third person had written a letter to him, would say, *He had made mention of him in an whole letter*: This passage therefore is more justly translated in an antient version of Ignatius's epistles, published by archbishop Usher, in this manner: *Qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri*: that is: *Who in every epistle makes mention of you*: referring *who* to Paul, as the other translation does. But tho' this version be right, the fact is not true. For St. Paul mentions the Ephesians in none of his epistles; nor so much as the place, except in both those to Timothy, and the former to the Corinthians, setting aside that in debate. I can't therefore but imagine, here must be a mistake in the Greek copies of Ignatius, which might probably have been occasioned in the following manner. After the words ἐν ἑφέσῳ came to be inserted in the epistle of St. Paul, which was now thought to have been written to that church; some body imagining that Ignatius designed to signify as much in that passage, changed *μνημονεύω* into *μνημονεύει*. For if we read *μνημονεύω*, the relative *ὅς* will refer in the usual construction to the nearer antecedent *μοι*; and not to *Παύλῳ*, which is more remote. And therefore in the Latin version I have given above, of this whole sentence, that member, which stands immediately before the relative *qui*, is enclosed in a parenthesis, in order to refer *qui* to *Pauli*, in the preceding member. With this small alteration of *ω* into *ει*, the sense will be: *To me [meaning himself] who make mention of you in every epistle*. In the other sense of the words, Ignatius only tells the Ephesians, what they knew many years before, if that epistle of St. Paul was written to them; but in this he acquaints them with what was new to them, and must have been highly pleasing to them to hear. And as this was very proper for him to say, and somewhat like St. Paul's manner, whose pattern he there desires to follow; so the truth of it is still evident, for *he does mention the Ephesians* in every one of his other five epistles to the churches. And these six epistles of Ignatius are all that are mentioned by Eusebius, except one to Polycarp<sup>l</sup>; which being of a more private nature, there is no mention in it of any church, or single person, but at Smyrna, where Polycarp was then bishop. I might add further, that had Ignatius designed the former sense, he would scarce have said ἐν πάσῃ, but ἐν ὅλῃ ἐπιστολῇ. For tho' *πάς* be sometimes used to denote an integral, and not an universal whole; yet 'tis of such things, of which there is but one of a sort, or at least where there can be no ambiguity; as *πᾶσα ἰσθμία*, *πᾶσα ἀκκμήνη* which is not the case here: for who upon the first view of that passage would not be apt to interpret ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ *in every epistle*, rather than *in an whole epistle*? In the larger epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians.

<sup>k</sup>Epist. ad Smyr. §5.

<sup>l</sup>Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 36.



phesians, this passage is very differently expressed: *ἔ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἰχθῦν  
 εὐρεθῆναι, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω, ὅς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ  
 μνημονεύει ἡμῶν*<sup>m</sup>: *Who always makes mention of us in his prayers*: the relative  
 who respecting Jesus Christ, mentioned here in the preceding clause. What  
 might occasion this alteration, whether the impropriety of the former ex-  
 pression in one sense, or the inconsistency of it with truth in the other,  
 or whatever other reason, I will not pretend to say. But the loss of this  
 passage, as a proof that St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Ephesians, is suf-  
 ficiently made up by another, that is not in the smaller epistle of Ignatius.

<sup>m</sup> *Scot.* 12. The words are these: *καὶ ἐπεὶ, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν, ἐν σῶμα, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι*<sup>n</sup>:  
 that is, *And ye, [Ephesians] are, as Paul wrote to you, one body, and one  
 spirit*. The clause, *One body, and one spirit*, is taken from St. Paul's own  
<sup>n</sup> *Ch.* iv. 4. epistle<sup>o</sup>, and seems to me one plain instance, among others, that these  
 larger epistles of Ignatius were written after the smaller. I have been the  
 longer upon these passages of Ignatius, by reason of the weight his autho-  
 rity might justly claim in this case, was it certain that he had spoken of  
 this epistle of the apostle Paul, as written by him to the Ephesians. For  
 if this epistle was written in the ninth year of Nero, and that of Ignatius  
 in the tenth of Trajan, as bishop Pearson places them<sup>p</sup>, the distance of  
 time will be but forty-five years; so that Ignatius, being then far advanced  
 in age, could not well be ignorant of the truth of this matter. And be-  
 sides, Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus at the time Ignatius wrote his  
 epistle to that church, is mentioned in it, and had lately made Ignatius  
 a visit; so that had there been then any doubt concerning this affair, he  
 could easily have set him right. Upon the whole therefore, there seems  
 to be no foundation, from the passage of Ignatius, referred to by Dr. Mill,  
 to imagine, that the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* were at that time inserted in St. Paul's  
 epistle; since it is more reasonable to think he speaks there of his own  
 epistles, and not of any particular one written by that apostle: tho' some  
 person afterwards, by the alteration of a single letter, gave the sentence  
 that turn. Nor can I see any reason to conclude with the author of the  
 Dissertation, that Ignatius had a copy of St. Paul's epistle with the title  
*πρὸς Ἐφεσίους*: tho' was it true, it could make nothing against what has been  
 offered above, upon that subject. And it seems somewhat strange, when  
 he has endeavoured to prove, that the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* were unknown to  
 Tertullian, that presently after he should seem at all to doubt, whether  
 this insertion was not made 'till after the time of Ignatius, *post Ignatii tem-  
 pora demum*; that is, pretty early in the second century. I am therefore  
 at a loss to reconcile the inference he draws from it with his reasoning be-  
 fore, when he says: *Adeo ut etiam ex hoc exemplo pateat non temere Celsum  
 secundo seculo quibusdam Christianis objecisse, Scripturae S. falsationem binis,  
 tribus, imo pluribus vicibus factam*.

It may perhaps be objected to the emendation proposed in the epistle of  
 Ignatius, that some of his epistles were written after that to the Ephesians;  
 and therefore he could not then say, that he had made mention of them  
*in every epistle*. For according to Eusebius's account, Ignatius upon his  
 arrival

<sup>p</sup> *An.*  
*Paul.*  
*Vind.*  
*Ignat.*  
*Par.* ii.  
*c.* 1.



arrival at Smyrna, in his journey to Rome, wrote his four epistles to the churches at Ephesus, Magnesia, Trallium, and Rome; and afterwards, when he came to Troas, the two others to the churches at Philadelphia and Smyrna, and that to Polycarp<sup>9</sup>. But this can't, I think, affect the *Hist. Ec-* emendation: for as Ignatius does mention the Ephesians in each of the *les. l. iii.* three other epistles written from Smyrna, this of itself is sufficient to support it; and his doing the same thing in the other two epistles afterwards, was only continuing to do, what he told the Ephesians he did at the time he wrote to them.

I am sensible that conjectures are never applied to worse purpose, than when they are made use of, to weaken the credit of the sacred writings. But neither the divine authority of this epistle, nor the author of it, is here called in question; the enquiry is only about the persons to whom it was first written. And tho' it has for so many ages past been received, as written to the Ephesians; yet as we find this was not the general sense of the earliest times, and by reading the epistle in this view the same propriety of expression does not appear, as in all the other epistles of the same apostle; an attempt to remove these difficulties, modestly proposed, cannot, I presume, be justly thought blameable. The cause of christianity may possibly be served, but can no ways be disserved by it; and therefore whatever the success be, the design must by all impartial judges be at least esteemed innocent.

*The end of the SECOND VOLUME.*







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